



WWI'S BLACK SOLDIERS

Honouring the unsung minorities of the trenches

10 WEIRDEST ROYAL CUSTOMS

Strangest rules of demanding monarchs



ALL ABOUT

HISTORY

VERSAILLES VILLAIN

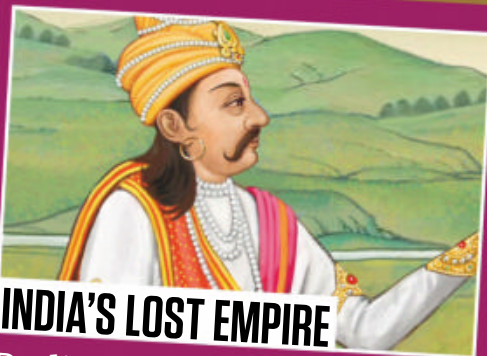
Cult of the SUN KING

Did Louis XIV's lust for power sow the seeds of revolution?



HOLLYWOOD AT WAR

Meet the stars who swapped red carpets for rifles



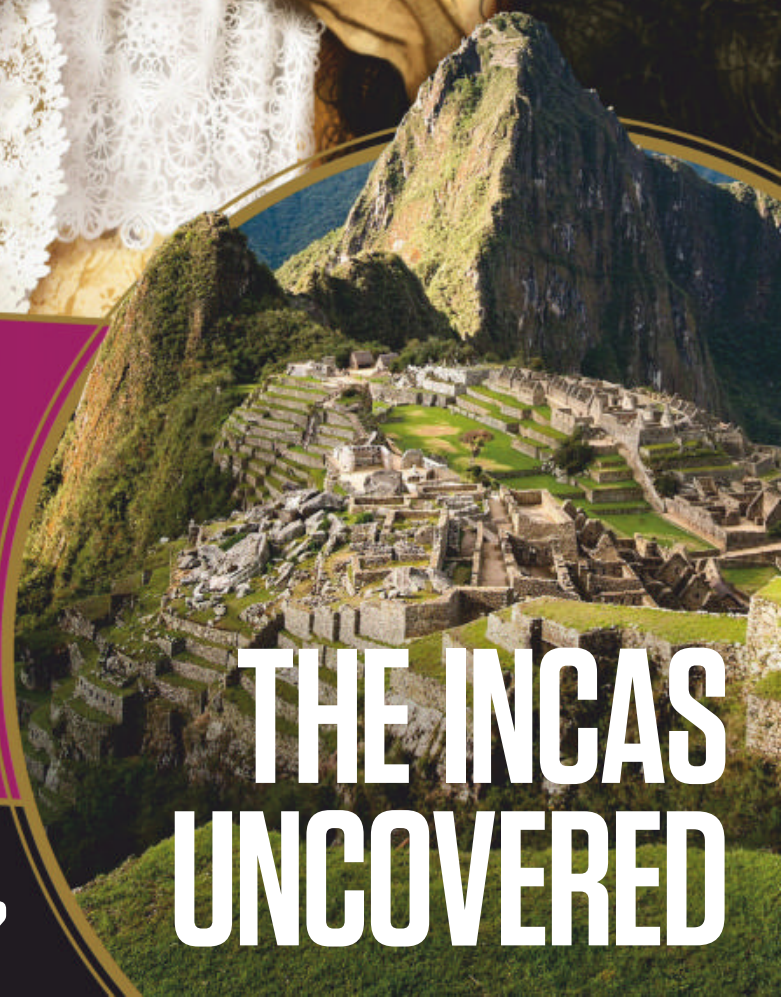
INDIA'S LOST EMPIRE

Rediscovering South Asia's pre-colonial superpower



THAMES TREASURE HUNTING

London's mudlarkes share their secrets



THE INCAS UNCOVERED



**MANUALS TO EXPAND YOUR
MILITARY KNOWLEDGE**

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© Getty Images
Louis XIV built up Versailles from a château in the midst of hunting grounds to one of the grandest and most spectacular palaces ever seen

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Welcome

Looking at the reign of Louis XIV of France, it's easy to see the similarities between his centralised absolutist monarchy that he began to impose from 1661 and the cults of personality employed by the dictators of the 20th century. Louis began to build state apparatus around himself, forcing the great and powerful to submit to him in order to wield any power or influence for themselves. It was a premise steeped in the concept of the divine right of kings, but executed in a brand new way and by a king who could seemingly enrapture his subjects with his personality and presence.

But as we know from more modern examples, governments driven by the persona of a single individual rarely last once that lynchpin figure is gone. And so it was with Louis XIV's successors and the growing discontent that saw the rise of the French Revolution. This issue we look to pick apart just how responsible Louis XIV can be held for the

downfall of the monarchy that he worked so hard to empower; we welcome regular contributor Melanie Clegg to piece those connections together for us.

Elsewhere, to mark the release of the new season of *The Crown*, we take a look at strange royal etiquette through history, from courtiers having to lay tributes to thrones even when the monarch wasn't there to who has to bow to whom in the British royal family (it's a complex web as you'll discover).

Hope you enjoy it.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor



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Hollywood At War

We welcome Grace Freeman, who reveals to us the movie stars involved in World War II and the role they played in supporting the Allied victory

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Treasure Hunting

Ben Gazur introduces us to the wonderful world of mudlarking and what historical artefacts can be unearthed on the banks on the Thames

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Indian Emperor

We explore the expansion of the ancient Indian empire under Ashoka the Great - Hareth Al Bustan reveals the fascinating tale behind the historic leader

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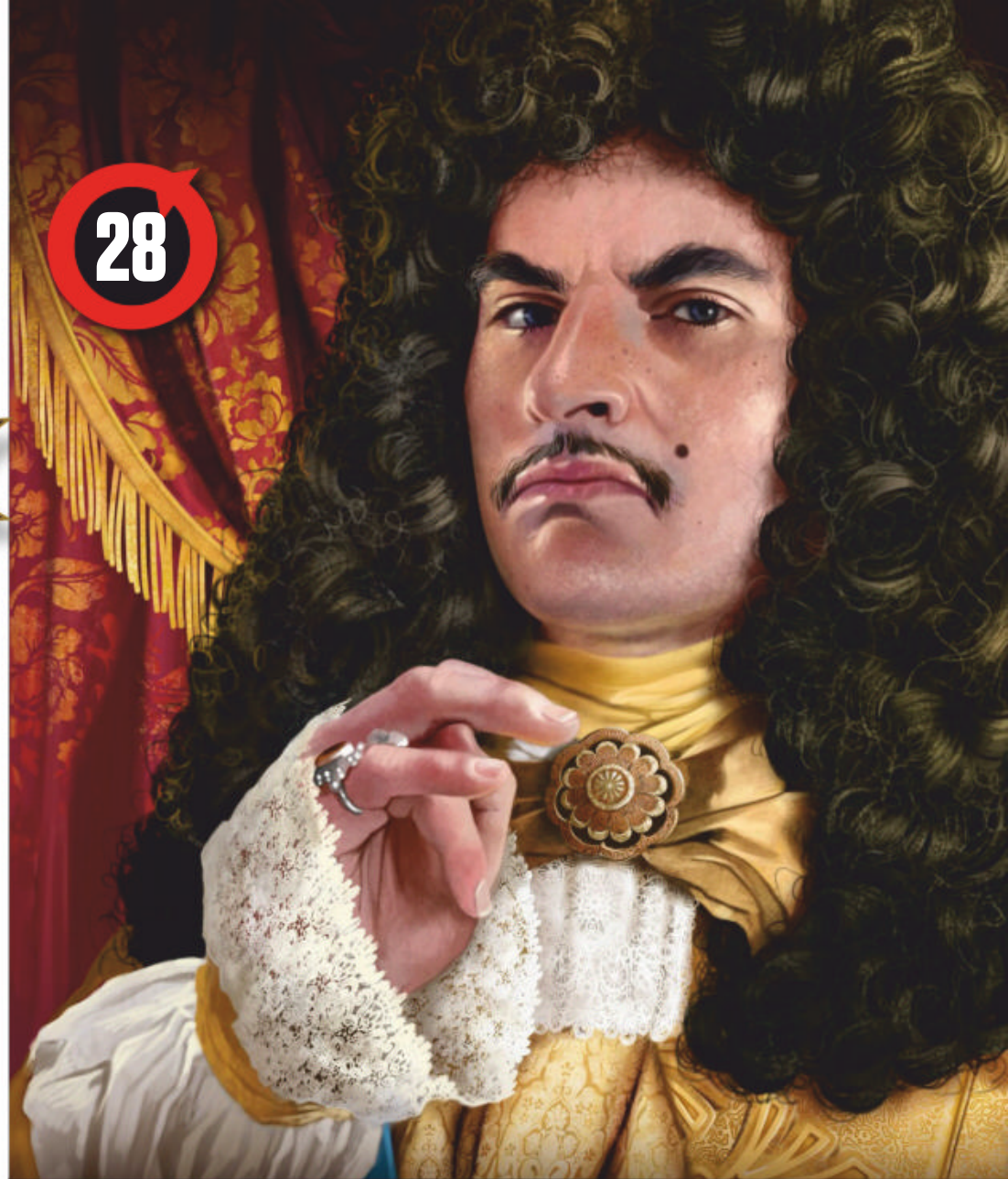
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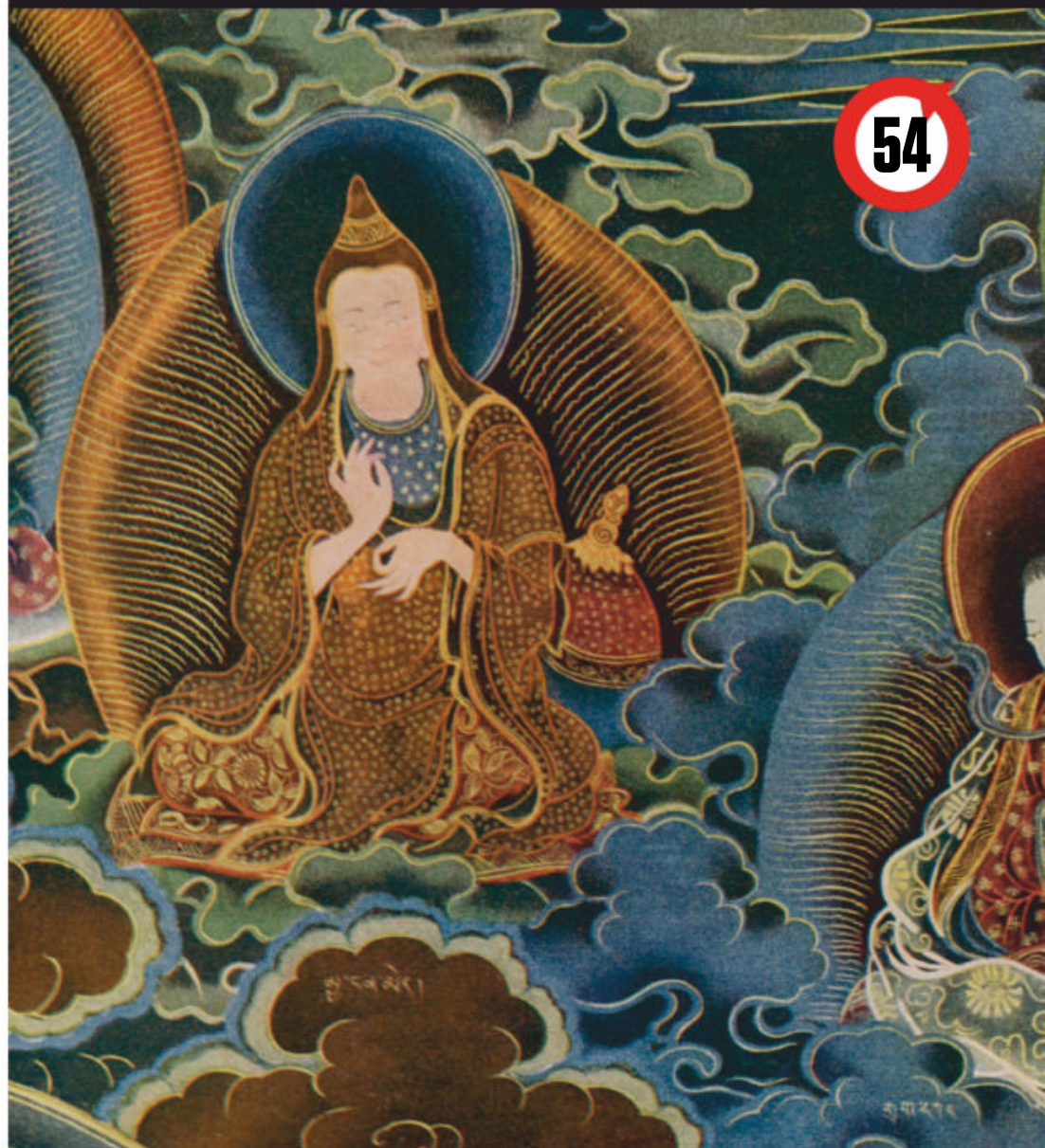
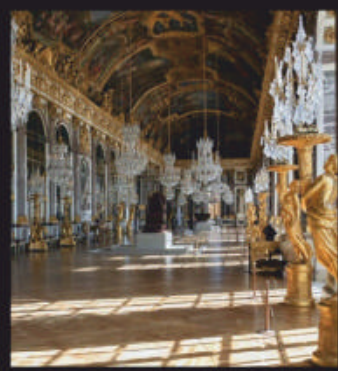
An emperor's journey from bloody conqueror to devout Buddhist

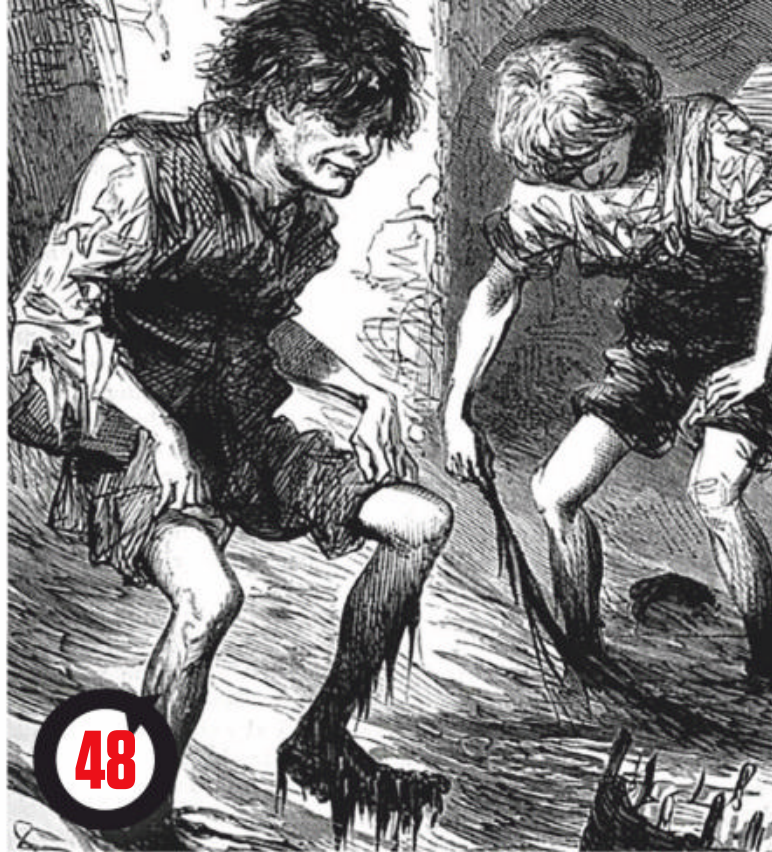
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Professor Iwan Morgan ponders the impact if President-Elect Roosevelt had been killed in 1933







DEFINING MOMENTS

LOTTERY DRAFT

Having amended the rules for how serving-age men were drafted into the US military, the first lottery draft took place on 1 December 1969 to draw those born between 1 January 1944 and 31 December 1950. The change was a response to criticism that the draft was not conscripting people equally, but it only ignited more resistance to the war, especially among young people who might be expected to serve in a fight they didn't support.

1969



DEFINING MOMENTS

VELVET REVOLUTION

Kickstarted by the suppression of student demonstrations in Prague on 17 November, mass demonstrations by the people of Czechoslovakia would quickly grow into what has become known as the Velvet Revolution and the toppling of the Communist Party's government by 29 December 1989. The uprising built day by day with more protests in the streets, a general strike and ultimately the resignation of the country's leading party officials.

1989







DEFINING MOMENTS

HOSTAGE CRISIS

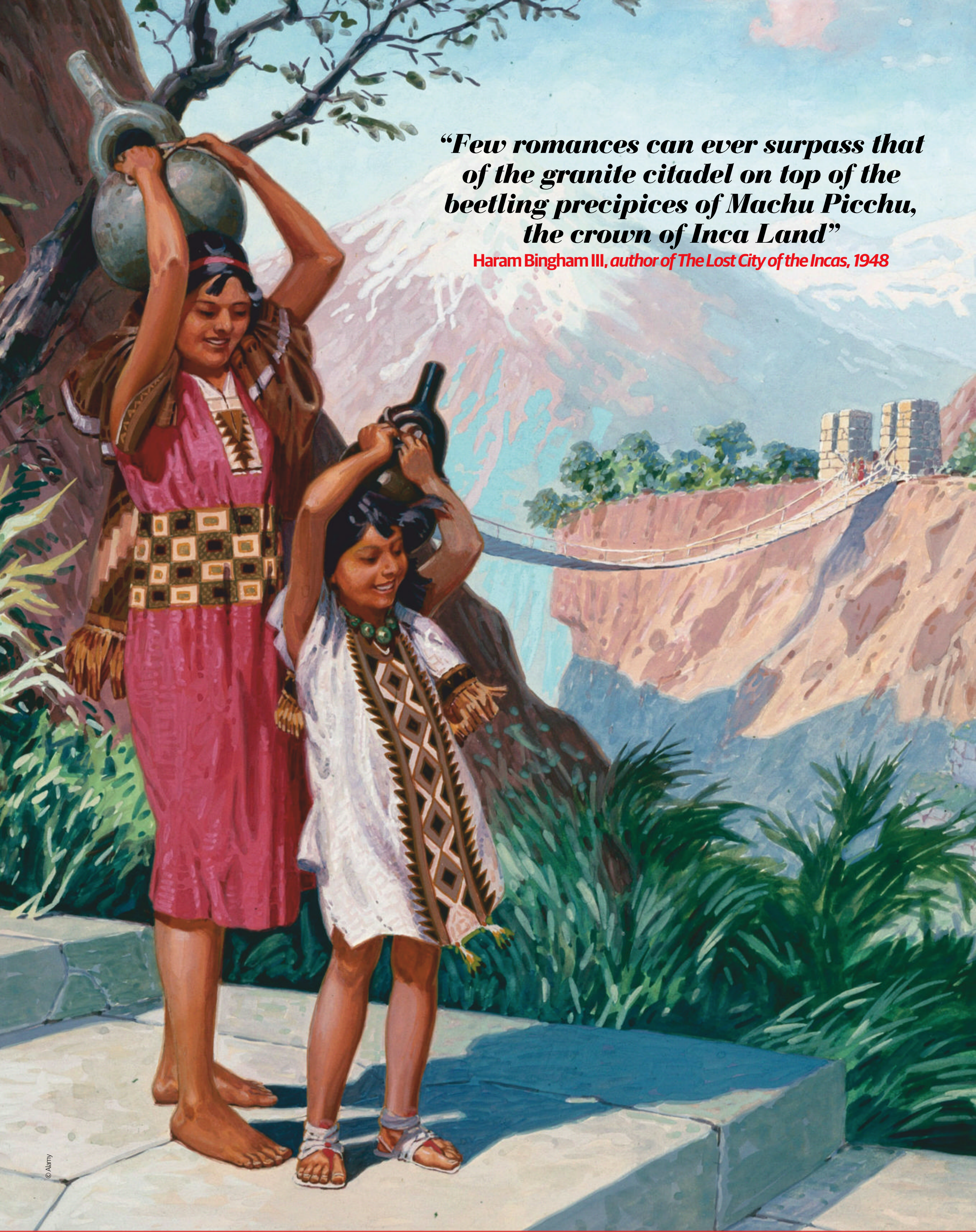
When members of the Muslim Student Followers of the Imam's Line stormed the US embassy in Tehran on 4 November 1979 it started a hostage crisis that lasted 444 days, inflamed tensions between Iran and the US and was a contributing factor in the decline of Jimmy Carter's presidency. It was actually the third time that year that the embassy had been attacked.

The hostages were dispersed around Iran to make their rescue more difficult.

1979

***“Few romances can ever surpass that
of the granite citadel on top of the
beetling precipices of Machu Picchu,
the crown of Inca Land”***

Hiram Bingham III, author of *The Lost City of the Incas*, 1948



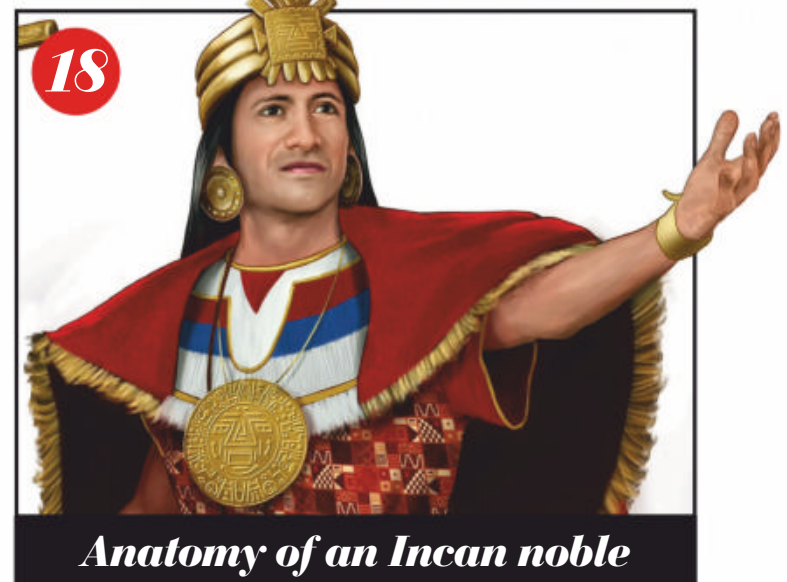


ALL ABOUT THE INCAN EMPIRE

Exploring the incredible architecture, culture and legacy of one of South America's great civilisations



Inside Machu Picchu



Anatomy of an Incan noble



What are Khipus?



Exploring Incan ruins

Written by Jessica Leggett, Jonathan Gordon, David Crookes



THE INCAN EMPIRE

The Incas and empire

Did you know?

During the rule of the first eight rulers, the Incans barely expanded outside of Cusco



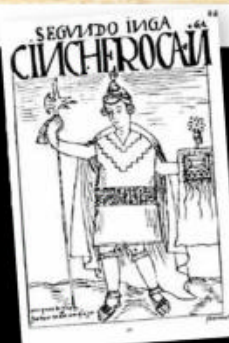
Victory in the Chimor-Inca War 1471

With the largest coastal state of once fierce rival Chimor now under Inca rule (despite its own territorial ambitions) and following the death of Pachacuti, who had strengthened Cusco at the centre of the empire while overseeing 12 million inhabitants, Túpac Inca Yupanqui becomes the tenth Sapa Inca.



INCA REGION FOUNDED 1200

Although there is no hard evidence, legend says Inca warlord Manco Cápac leads his tribe from a cave in the high mountains to the fertile Cusco Valley region.



SECOND RULER TAKES OVER 1230

Sinchi Roca succeeds his father, Manco Cápac, as the second Sapa Inca - or ruler of the Kingdom of Cusco. He goes on to order the first census of the Incas.

EXPANDING THE CITY 1350

Following the reigns of Lloque Yupanqui, Mayta Cápac and Cápac Yupanqui, new ruler Inca Roca improves Cusco's irrigation and has a palace built in the hurin section of the city.



900CE = 1200

PRE-INCA TRIBE 900 CE

The Killke culture becomes, for some 300 years, the dominant group in the Cusco region of what is today Peru. The people build a huge fortress called Saksaywaman.

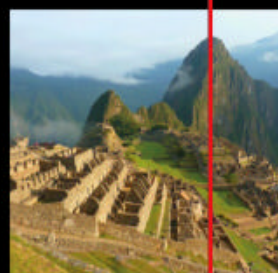


MAYTA CÁPAC 1290

The Kingdom of Cusco begins to expand under fourth leader Mayta Cápac although it is limited to attacks on neighbouring tribes who are subsequently assimilated.



1350 = 1438



CREATION OF MACHU PICCHU 1450

As well as restructuring the Inca government by splitting the empire into four administrative regions (each ruled by a governor), Pachacuti commissions the construction of Machu Picchu.

Establishing a settlement 1201

The Incas begin to construct and develop what would eventually become the city of Cusco. Located where the Huatanay, Chunchul and Tullumayo river meet, the settlement is built amid the mountains at an altitude of 3,450 metres but remains small for many years.



Beginning of the Inca Empire 1438

After 28 years of rule, Viracocha (successor of seventh ruler Yahuar Huacac), sees the Kingdom of Cusco attacked from the north by the neighbouring Chanca tribe. Viracocha struggles but his son, Pachacuti, defeats the invaders before conquering the wider Cusco Valley. Rapid territorial expansion begins.



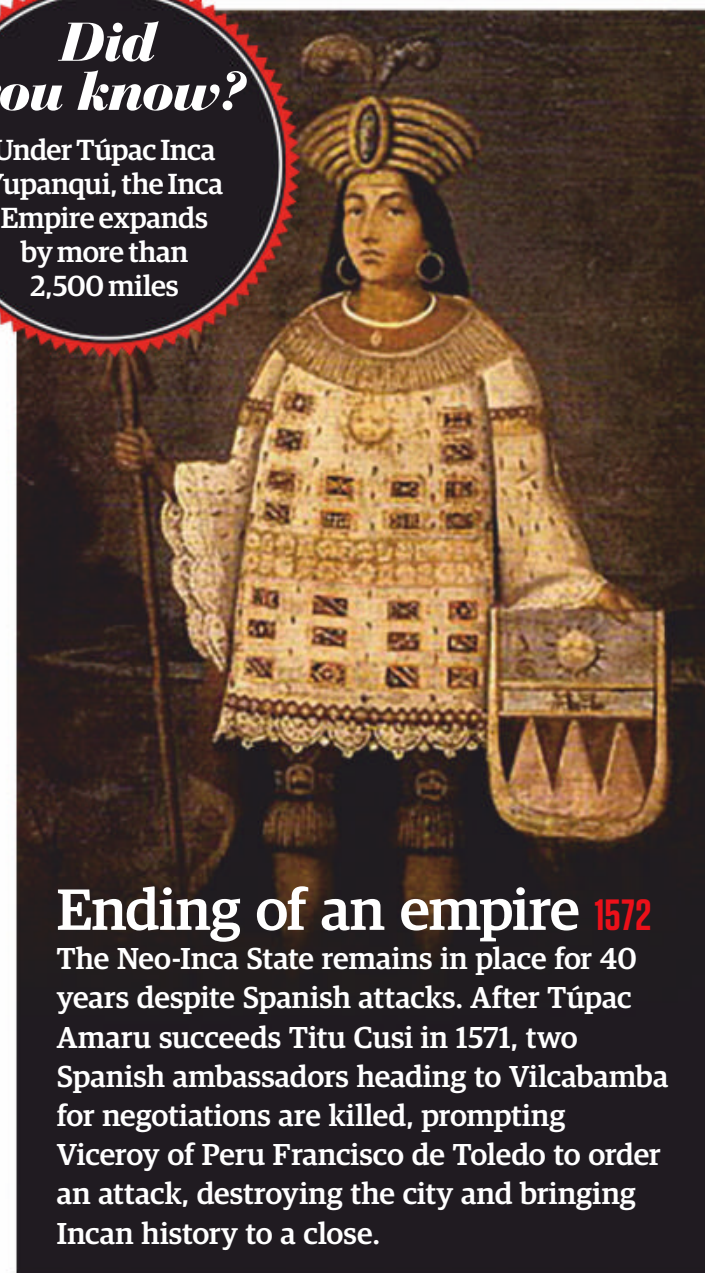


Christopher Columbus reaches America 1492

As Christopher Columbus encounters the New World, he discovers an abundance of riches - particularly gold - which would subsequently whet the appetite of other explorers. The Inca Empire will encompass Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, Chile and Argentina but this is arguably marks the beginning of the end.

Did you know?

Under Túpac Inca Yupanqui, the Inca Empire expands by more than 2,500 miles

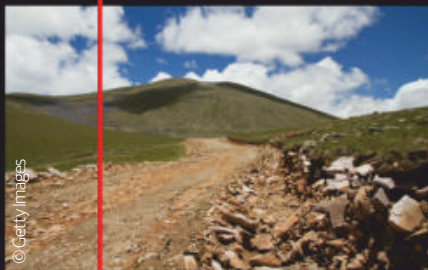


Ending of an empire 1572

The Neo-Inca State remains in place for 40 years despite Spanish attacks. After Túpac Amaru succeeds Titu Cusi in 1571, two Spanish ambassadors heading to Vilcabamba for negotiations are killed, prompting Viceroy of Peru Francisco de Toledo to order an attack, destroying the city and bringing Incan history to a close.

THE ROUTE MASTERS 1453

Constructed by hand, the Inca's impressive road system is firmly established, building into a network of some 24,000 miles so that messages can be sent across the expanding empire.



CIVIL WAR BREAKS OUT 1525

With Huayna Capac dead and no formal heir, sons Huáscar and Atahualpa battle to become emperor. Atahualpa eventually wins in 1532.



NEO-INCA STATE ESTABLISHED 1537

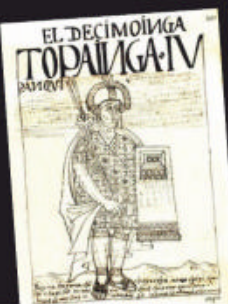
Manco Inca Yupanqui leads an uprising in Cusco and beats the Spanish in the Battle of Ollantaytambo before fleeing and forming a Neo-Inca State. The capital is at Vicambamba.

1520

1572

ARMY LEADS MAJOR EXPANSION 1463

With Pachacuti's son, Túpac Inca Yupanqui, heading the Inca army, fighting ensures the empire is extended into modern Ecuador and across Southern America.



WAR OF TWO BROTHERS 1493

Túpac son, Huaya Capac becomes the third Sapa Inca. The Inca Empire expands even further and reaches its peak with Ecuador now firmly under Incan control.



ATAHUALPA IS EXECUTED 1533

Having been held by the Spanish, Atahualpa is executed. The Inca Empire is severely weakened by this, with Manco Inca Yupanqui becoming a puppet emperor.



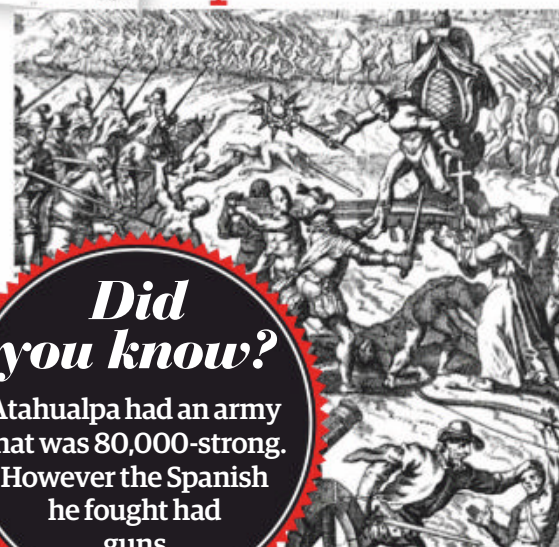
The Smallpox epidemic 1520

The Spanish soldier and conquistador Pánfilo de Narváez arrives in Mexico on 23 April and unintentionally introduces smallpox, which kills millions. It spreads across the Americas leaving tribes vulnerable since they are without immunity. Inca emperor Huaya Capac catches a fever and dies in 1525.



Did you know?

Atahualpa had an army that was 80,000-strong. However the Spanish he fought had guns



The Spanish arrive 1532

Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro González leads the conquest of Peru having previously failed in such a quest in 1524 and 1526. He founds the settlement of San Miguel de Piura and when emperor Atahualpa objects, the Incas are ambushed in the bloody Battle of Cajamarca that leaves Atahualpa captive.



THE INCAN EMPIRE



MACHU PICCHU

SOUTHERN PERU, 1450 - 1572

Considered to be a royal estate and constructed during the era of the Inca ruler Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui, Machu Picchu was understood to be home to more than 750 people. It is most remarkable for its location, some 2,430 metres high on a mountain ridge, although the fine stonework and perfect planning of this citadel are just as notable, since they show the peak of the Inca Empire's immense achievements.

The area was highly spiritual, with a number of temples, palaces and carefully carved rocks for ceremonial purposes. The emperor would stay there temporarily, and his home was located close to the Temple of the Sun. There were also plazas, homes and a cemetery, all reached by crafted stairs and walkways on the eastern slope of the Andes. The structures would prove so solidly built that they would survive the ravages of time.

Indeed, it's easy to get a great feel for Machu Picchu today. The buildings and the man-made agricultural terraces that provided food for the inhabitants are still present, and it's clear that they follow the mountainous terrain. The sense of isolation remains stark - for while Machu Picchu is just 50 miles from the Inca capital in Cusco, it stands alone on the mountainside.

During the Spanish conquest of Peru and the subsequent colonisation, the Spanish failed to discover the citadel, so it was never plundered or destroyed. This was an advantage of being so high, and it wasn't until 1911 when American lecturer and historian Hiram Bingham III was introduced to Machu Picchu by a local villager that it became so widely known internationally.

By that point Machu Picchu had long been abandoned, the eventual collapse of the Inca in 1572 leaving little reason to remain. Today the area of some 80,000 acres attracts large numbers of visitors, although there has long been concern over their potential impact. UNESCO made it a World Heritage Site in 1983.

Intihuatana Stone

Located in the Sacred Valley, the four-sided Intihuatana ritual stone pointing north, south, east and west was carved from a single piece of granite and is understood to have been used as a sun dial and possibly an astronomical observatory. The Incas had a spiritual connection with the rock and would use a stepped recess as an altar. It would indicate the time of the winter solstice.

The entrances

This main gate is the entrance to the citadel, but a stone-columned Sun Gate - or Inti Punku - is situated two hours away on foot. The Sun Gate is the final destination of the Inca hiking trail, along which there are a good number of Incan ruins. It used to be a control gate for anyone entering and leaving the citadel, and since it is so remote it is suggested only elite people were allowed through.

Getting around

Access to the buildings was gained via stone walkways, with carefully created steps carved into single slabs of rock allowing citizens to navigate the terraced layout that followed the terrain. These would allow citizens to get around the residential areas and visit the religious buildings, cemetery and other structures spread across an urban area of some 85,008 square metres.

Agricultural terraces

In order to provide food for the citadel's inhabitants, the Incas cut more than 700 agricultural terraces into the mountainside to provide level fields for farming. They were watered by an aqueduct system. Since the stone retaining walls would absorb and radiate heat day and night while also decreasing erosion and surface run-off, it ensured an ideal environment for the crops. Farming is also thought to have taken place in the surrounding hills.

Temple of the Three Windows

There were originally five trapezoidal-shaped windows within this sacred temple, but the three that remain represent heaven, the world and the underworld, and they are aligned to the sunrise. Located just eight metres from the Sacred Plaza and close to the Central Plaza, shards of shattered pottery were found here, indicating their use in rituals.

Temple of the Sun

Not only was Torreón Machu Picchu's sole semi-circular building, it was also its spiritual soul and an astronomical observatory. Built above the cave of the Royal Tomb and once only accessible to Inca priests, it centres around a carved rock that is likely to have been used as the temple's altar. The rock is illuminated when the sun rises and shines through two windows during the June and December solstices – both major religious events.

Inti Mach'ay

Another great example of the Incan Empire's fine masonry, Inti Mach'ay – or the cave of the sun – was used to observe the Royal Feast of the Sun. Its back wall remains in darkness for all but ten days of the year around the December solstice, with sunlight streaming through a tunnel-like window designed for that very purpose.

Temple of the Condor

The Temple of the Condor is a magnificent structure, noted in particular for its amazing stonework. With great skill the Incas shaped a natural rock formation into the wings of a condor, carving the large bird's head and neck feathers on the floor. Since the left wing and rock doesn't touch the ground, it's indicative of the bird in flight.

Hundreds of homes

Most of the 200 or so rectangular, one-storied buildings were homes, built using hefty stones quarried and transported from within Machu Picchu by hundreds of Inca men before being pounded and sanded using bronze tools and assembled in jigsaw-like patterns without mortar. Their steep, wooden, straw-thatched roofs protected the interiors from the rain, and they may have been lightly finished using ground stones and sand.

Stairway of fountains

Small channels were placed beneath the urban areas to allow the heavy and frequent rain in Machu Picchu to drain away. Channels were also placed alongside the stairways bordering the agricultural sector, suggesting the Incas meticulously planned the citadel before getting down to work. A canal 749-metres long ran towards the city centre, feeding a stairway of 16 artificial fountains. This provided the inhabitants with clean, fresh water.



THE INCAN EMPIRE



AN INCA NOBLE

PERU, 1400S

LENGTHY TUNIC

Noblemen would wear a colourful tunic over a knee-length loincloth with a patterned design around the waist, while the women would wear long dresses pinned at the shoulder with a sash. The fine quality of the alpaca or vicuña cloth woven with ornamentation would indicate status. Feathers were prized decorations and a cloak would complete the outfit in cold weather.

GOING FOR GOLD

Gold jewellery was favoured among the nobles for its beauty and symbolism - it was representative of the sun. The noblemen in particular would wear large pendants made of gold around their neck to indicate their status and they'd place other adornments on their shoes, wrists and in their hair. Silver - symbolising the moon - was also highly prized.

PERSONAL EFFECTS

As well as carrying a bag for their personal items, amulets and coca leaves, a military nobleman would also have a fabric-clad shield decorated in the colours of his tribe. Most of the time, however, the nobles would work in government and administration and they'd enjoy a much better life than the commoners below them.

LITTLE FLOURISHES

Just below the knees and around the ankles of the noblemen would be coloured decorative fringes that were made of wool or cotton. This was indicative of the nobility's desire to appear more attractive. Their feet would be adorned with a pair of sandals that were typically made from cotton, wild plants and untanned llama hide.

HIDING A SECRET

Inca nobility would have their heads bound as children so that their skulls would become elongated. Such a shape was seen as a status symbol and a way of distinguishing those of noble birth. For decoration, they would also wear the llatu headdress with a tasselled fringe and crowns of gold and silver. They'd also keep their hair short at the front and longer at the back.

THE SHARP END

To be selected for military service was seen as an honour and a duty for noblemen. They would carry a halberd-like weapon called a tupa yauri that was made of bronze and adorned with feathers. It would sometimes be made using silver or gold if the nobleman was particularly high-ranking.

LISTEN UP

All noblemen would have their ears pierced from the age of 12, with heavy ornaments inserted into the hole. They were a prominent sign of nobility but they would deform the earlobes, stretching them downwards. Such a practice earned them the nickname orejones by the Spanish which, literally taken, means "big eared".





STARTER AND GIFT SETS R.M.S. TITANIC



The RMS Titanic will go down in maritime history as not just the largest and most luxurious passenger ship afloat upon its launch in 1912, but also as the most infamous, due to its now legendary maiden voyage. Despite warnings given to it by other ships, the Titanic steamed into the side of an iceberg on the night of the 14th April 1912. This tore a large hole in the side of the hull, overwhelming the ship's famed, watertight compartments. As water poured in, the order was given to abandon ship, with women and children being prioritised over the men. Of the 2224 passengers on board, just 711 survived, with the vast majority being women and children of the first and second class. Today, more than 100 years after its maiden voyage and sinking, the legend of the Titanic continues to capture the imagination of the world.

Built by Harland and Wolff in Belfast, Northern Ireland, and launched on May 31st 1911, the Royal Mail Steam Ship Titanic was one of three Olympic-class passenger ships built for the White Star line. The largest, most luxuriant passenger ship ever built at the time, Titanic sailed on her maiden voyage from Southampton to New York on 10 April 1912. Captained by Edward J Smith, Titanic left Southampton setting course across the Atlantic for New York with over 2,000 people on board. The passengers ranged from the poorest emigrants traveling steerage (third class) to the rich and famous such as John Jacob Astor and his wife Madeleine Force Astor, millionairess Margaret "Molly" Brown, the White Star Line's managing director J. Bruce Ismay and the ship's builder Thomas Andrews.



674mm



385mm



270mm



A50146A

R.M.S. TITANIC LARGE GIFT SET

Gift Sets all contain paint, adhesive and brushes. This model comes in pre-coloured plastic making it suitable for both beginners as well as advanced modellers of all ages. A brilliant way to start the fantastic hobby of Airfix modelling!



A50164A

R.M.S. TITANIC MEDIUM GIFT SET

This model of the tragically doomed Titanic also comes in pre-coloured plastic and the kit includes paint, adhesive and brushes. It is suitable for beginners as well as advanced modellers.



A55314

R.M.S. TITANIC STARTER SET

A perfect model for the beginner. This set includes glue, brush and six acrylic paints – all that's needed to complete a fabulous first kit!

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THE INCAN EMPIRE

Hall of Fame SAPA INCAS

Ten rulers whose reigns saw the rise and fall of the Inca Empire



One legend claims Cápac and Ocllo defeated the Cuzco valley tribes of to found their dynasty.

MANCO CÁPAC INCA C. 1200-1228

Manco Cápac was the founder of the Inca dynasty and the first Sapa Inca. Considered to be the son of Inti, the sun god, Manco Cápac's origin is shrouded in myth. According to one tale Inti took pity on the people living in Lake Titicaca and sent Manco Cápac to establish a civilisation and to teach them how to live. Equipped with a golden staff that would sink into suitable, fertile land and accompanied by his sister and wife, Mama Ocllo, Manco Cápac discovered the Cuzco valley where he founded the capital and taught humans how to be civilised.

PACHACUTI

INCA 1438-1471

Pachacuti was the Sapa Inca who transformed the kingdom of Cuzco into the Incan Empire. The son of Viracocha, Pachacuti stepped forward to lead the Incas when his father fled the kingdom whilst it was under attack by the Chanka. Using his military skill, Pachacuti successfully defended the realm and he was named the new Sapa Inca. As emperor he pursued expansion throughout the Andes mountains, introduced reforms and split his vast empire into four divisions, which was known as 'Tawantinsuyu' by the Incas. It is also believed that the iconic Inca ruin, Machu Picchu, was constructed during his reign.



Pachacuti was originally called Cusi Inca Yupanqui but he changed it after becoming Sapa Inca.



Inca succession was not decided through primogeniture but it was passed on to a son of the coya.

HUAYNA CAPAC

INCA 1493-1524

Huayna Capac succeeded his father, Topa Inca, as Sapa Inca in 1493. He expanded the empire's territory into the Amazon region, conquering Ecuador and building a second capital in the city of Quito. However overall expansion decreased during Huayna Capac's reign in comparison to his predecessors as he spent large chunks of his rule ending rebellions. In 1524 he became ill after contracting smallpox, a disease introduced to the empire by the Spanish conquistadors. The Incas had no resistance to smallpox and it devastated the population, with both Huayna Capac and his designated heir dying suddenly, leaving no instructions on who was next to succeed.



VIRACOCCHA INCA

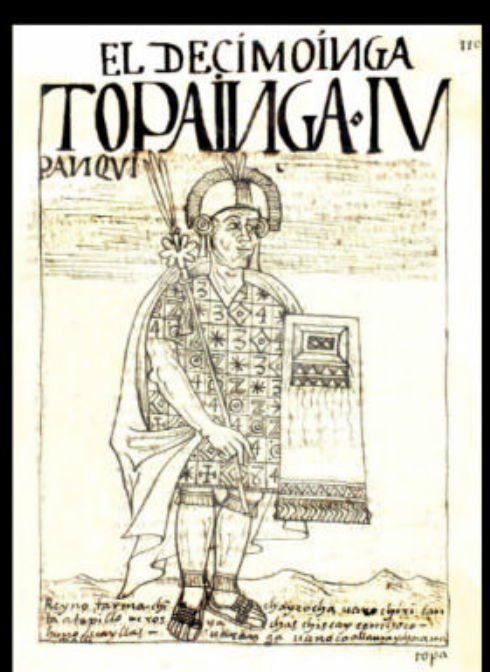
INCA C. 1410-1438

Viracocha is arguably the first Sapa Inca who can be confirmed to have been real since the tales of his predecessors are considered to be fictional by many scholars. Choosing the name 'Viracocha' in honour of the Inca creator god, Viracocha began expanding Inca territory during his reign until 1438, when the kingdom of Cuzco was attacked by the neighbouring Chanka tribe. Abandoning his realm, Viracocha left the Incas in the hands of his son, Pachacuti.

TOPA INCA YUPANQUI

INCA 1471-1493

Topa was the son of Pachacuti, who appointed him as the head of the Inca army during his reign. Topa made a name for himself by defeating the Chimú, located in the north, in 1463 and thereby securing Inca dominance of the Andes. When he became emperor in 1471, Topa continued the work of his father by expanding the empire even further, to the point where it covered large parts of western South America by the time he died.





HUÁSCAR

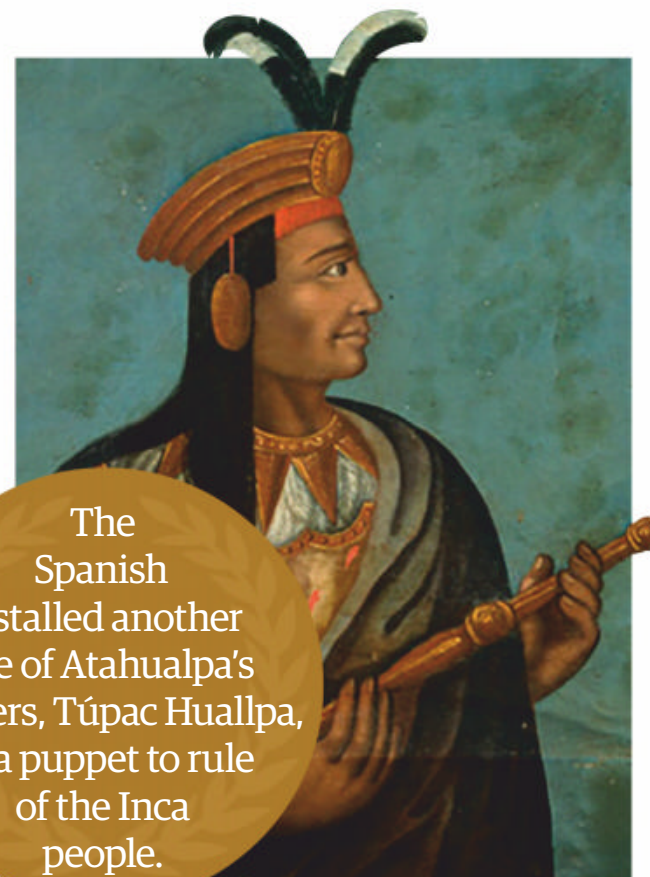
INCA 1524-1532

After his father, Huayna Capac, died without naming an heir Huáscar was named as the next Sapa Inca by the nobles of Cuzco. He inherited the largest portion of the Inca empire while his brother Atahualpa became the governor of Quito. However Atahualpa soon led a rebellion against Huáscar and the two brothers became locked in a bloody civil war for control of the empire. Unfortunately for Huáscar his brother proved to be the superior military commander and he was defeated and later assassinated. Following his death Huáscar's remaining supporters allied themselves with the Spanish conquistadors against Atahualpa.

ATAHUALPA

INCA 1532-1533

In the wake of his father's unexpected death Atahualpa ignited a civil war against his brother and the new Sapa Inca, Huáscar, for the empire. The war lasted from 1529 to 1532 with Atahualpa emerging victorious, although all the fighting had left the empire greatly weakened. Just weeks after becoming Sapa Inca, he was captured at Cajamarca by the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro, after his army had been overwhelmed by the Spanish guns and weapons, which were unknown to the Incas, as well as the horses. Atahualpa was kept as a prisoner for a year before he was executed.



The Spanish installed another one of Atahualpa's brothers, Túpac Huallpa, as a puppet to rule of the Inca people.



YUPANQUI

INCA 1533-1545

Manco Inca, a younger brother of Huáscar and Atahualpa, was originally installed in Cuzco as a puppet emperor by Francisco Pizarro. Choosing to rebel against the Spanish he escaped their custody and formed his own army of Inca warriors, creating a base at the fortress in Ollantaytambo. After several months

Manco Inca moved to Vilcabamba and founded the independent Neo-Inca State. Following his death the state was continued by Manco Inca's sons, who ruled in succession.

Manco Inca had to flee the empire during the reign of his brother, Atahualpa, who executed anyone who could usurp him as Sapa Inca.



SAYRI TÚPAC

INCA 1545-1560

While his father, Manco Inca, had fought for the independence of the Incas Sayri Túpac willingly surrendered to the Spanish when he became Sapa Inca in Vilcabamba in 1552. Agreeing to leave Vilcabamba in return for estates and a pension, he returned to Cuzco with his wife to lead the natives, with the pair even converting to Christianity. He was poisoned in 1561, after which the Inca State he left behind rebelled against the Spanish.

TÚPAC AMARU

INCA 1571-1572

The last ever Sapa Inca, Túpac Amaru attempted to defend the remnants of the Neo-Inca State from a Spanish expedition ordered by the Viceroy of Toledo in 1572. Fleeing the Vilcabamba he was eventually captured alongside his wife and returned to Cuzco, where he was put on trial for the murder of Spanish priests, an accusation that was likely invented. Túpac Amaru's defeat and execution marked the end of the Incan empire.





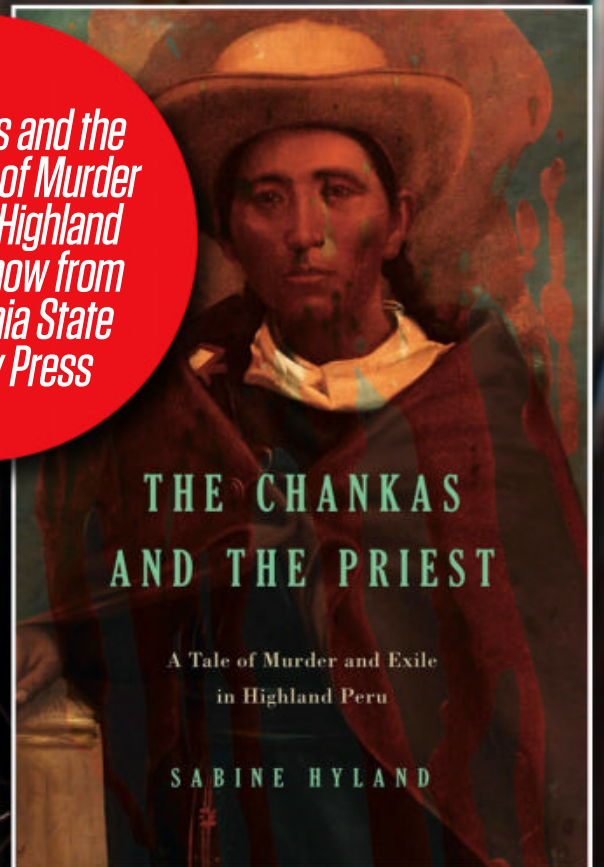
THE INCAN EMPIRE

Q&A With...

PROFESSOR SABINE HYLAND

INVESTIGATING HOW THE INCAS COMMUNICATED THROUGH KNOTTED CORDS RATHER THAN A WRITTEN LANGUAGE

The Chankas and the Priest: A Tale of Murder and Exile in Highland Peru is out now from Pennsylvania State University Press



Professor Sabine Hyland is an anthropologist and ethnohistorian at the University of St Andrews. She has written extensively about the Incas and the Spanish colonial period in Peru, and she has spent over a decade investigating khipus/quipus and how to decipher them. Learn more at her website sabinehyland.com.

Q. WHAT ARE KHIPUS AND WHAT DID THE INCAS USE THEM FOR?

A. Khipus, coloured and knotted cords for recording information, remain one of the greatest mysteries of the Incas and the Andean people. During the Inca Empire, khipus recorded biographies, histories, economic and census data. What if we could read the Incas' own accounts of their history instead of relying upon biased Spanish chroniclers? The Inca writing system of knotted cords remains undeciphered, although little by little we are making progress in figuring it out. My research has uncovered Peruvian villages where khipus - once thought extinct - were used until the 20th century, providing vital insights into how khipus functioned. Deciphering the 1,000-plus extant khipus would revolutionise our understanding of Andean civilisation, presenting an insiders' view of practices like human sacrifice.

Q. UNFORTUNATELY, FEWER THAN 1,000 KHIPUS ARE KNOWN TO EXIST TODAY. WHY HAVE THEY FAILED TO SURVIVE?

A. Some Spanish missionaries destroyed khipus in a vain attempt to wipe out native religion. Over the protests of those in the church who were sympathetic to Andean culture, the 'extirpators of idolatry' tried to crush indigenous beliefs. When extirpators entered a village, they searched for all the khipus, which they would burn in giant bonfires along with ancestor mummies and other sacred things. Meanwhile, the Spanish government ordered native people to keep records in Spanish, so alphabetic writing replaced khipus. Nonetheless, in a few remote communities local people continued to keep khipu accounts as a way of shielding their records from outside eyes. I believe more communities with khipus will come forward, and so the numbers will increase.

Q. WHY DID YOU DECIDE TO FOCUS YOUR WORK ON STUDYING KHIPUS?

A. Non-alphabetic writing has fascinated me ever since I was a child in the Philippines. At school in Manila we learned about the ancient baybayin script carved into bamboo and used until the 20th century for personal letters and love notes. As a teenager I lived in Peru, where I first heard about the twisted and coloured cords used by the Incas for history and poetry, as well as accounts of labour and goods. At that time it was thought that khipus were purely mnemonic and that the information in them could never be recovered. Little did I suspect that one day members of an isolated Andean community would show me a hidden manuscript describing how they treated khipus as living beings in their ceremonies, or that the elders in another remote village would reveal to me their precious khipu epistles, guarded for centuries.

Q. WHAT ARE THE BIGGEST CHALLENGES IN DECIPHERING KHIPUS?

A. A major difficulty has been that virtually all existing khipus are in museum, university and private collections. Until now there have been only three Peruvian communities known to have maintained their patrimonial khipus, although the villagers can no longer 'read' the khipus. In the past ten years, funded by *National Geographic*, I've located three additional Andean communities where khipus were used until the 20th century. The traditions about khipus in these villages - Anchucaya, Casta and Collata - add new revelations about khipus. My discoveries in Anchucaya, for example, enabled me to decipher the relationship between the two main colour patterns in Inca khipus, and to partially interpret the meaning of a previously undeciphered khipu in the National Museum of Archaeology in Peru.

Q. YOU TRAVELLED TO THE REMOTE VILLAGE OF SAN JUAN DE COLLATA IN PERU, WHERE THE ANDEAN ELDERS PERMITTED YOU TO ANALYSE TWO KHIPUS UNDER THEIR PROTECTION. WHAT DID YOU DISCOVER?

A. Villagers in Collata guard two khipus in a chest with colonial manuscripts. Until recently the elders showed these khipus only to male community members, who were told that the khipus are narrative epistles written by local leaders about a rebellion. These are the first khipus ever identified as both narrative or epistolary. I have been able to decipher the lineage ('ayllu') names in the ending cords of each khipu, indicating the sender of each khipu. These are also the first Andean khipus known to be phonetic.

These discoveries have received international media coverage. The village council has created a packet of information, based on news reports, about their khipus for the village school. As one community official wrote to me: "It is imperative that our children know the value of their cultural heritage here in Collata so that they will not abandon their village when they grow up." On 24 June 2017, the official feast day of the village, the village council formally inducted a Spanish translation of my article on their khipus into their sacred archive.

Q. HAS YOUR RESEARCH ON THE COLLATA KHIPUS RAISED ANY NEW QUESTIONS?

A. The Collata khipus reveal a 'language of animals' in which meaning is indicated in part through the use of different animal fibres in the khipus - vicuña, deer, llama, guanaco, alpaca and viscacha. In many cases the fibres can be distinguished only through touch, underscoring the three-dimensional nature of this writing system. When I studied the Collata khipus, the two herders assigned to watch me instructed me how to tell the difference between the fibres by feel - a red deer-hair cord feels very different from a red vicuña-fibre cord.

The three-dimensionality of the khipus suggests a different sort of sense scape for communication, one in which touch and feel play a role comparable to sight and sound. We believe that khipu literacy was fairly widespread during the Inca Empire, as well as in the rural communities where khipu use persisted; does the heightened focus on fine distinctions of feel and touch that are implied by feeling knot direction and ply suggest a different way of perceiving the universe as a whole, a way in which the sense of touch communicates as strongly as sight and sound?



Hyland holding the Collata khipu in June 2019

© Dr William Hyland



THE INCAN EMPIRE

Places to Explore ANCIENT INCA RUINS

Five breathtaking Inca sites that aren't Machu Picchu

1 MORAY MARAS

One of the most fascinating Inca ruins, Moray is an archaeological site located in a remote area of the Sacred Valley. At first glance its concentric terraces are reminiscent of an ancient Roman amphitheatre, but sadly the purpose for this unique design remains unknown. However, the orientation of the ruins indicate that they were built for a specific reason, with the most likely suggestion being that they were used to experiment growing crops at different levels, with the temperature changing towards the top. Interestingly, the Moray ruins never flood, and this has suggested that there may be an irrigation system located underground. Visitors who wish to learn about the history of the Moray ruins will want to join a guided tour for more information - but remember to visit during the day, as there is no lighting in the evening! It is also worth noting that the Maras salt flats are located nearby if you have the time to make a quick visit.

Open seven days a week, 7am to 6pm. A Full Cusco Tourist Ticket for entry can be bought in Cusco, costing 130 soles, with concessions available.



The Moray ruins are a fascinating example of Inca engineering



2 INCA PISAC

PISAC

Built on the top of a mountain that offers extraordinary views of the village of Pisac, the Inca Pisac ruins attract thousands of visitors every year. Found in the Sacred Valley of the Incas, it is believed that this archaeological site forms the shape of a bird, as the name 'Pisac' derives from the Quechua word 'Pisaca', which means 'partridge'. The ruins are some of the most intact in Peru and are divided into four sections: Pisac, Inti Watana, Q'allaqasa and Kinchiraqay. The site was used by the Incas for religious, military and agricultural purposes, with a temple complex, ceremonial baths, a residential settlement, agricultural terraces and even the largest Inca cemetery among the sights available for visitors to explore. Situated just one hour away from Cusco, the Inca Pisac ruins are an ideal place to visit for a day out, particularly as Pisac itself offers a very popular market that is geared towards tourists.

Open seven days a week, 6am to 5pm. A Full Cusco Tourist Ticket for entry can be bought in Cusco, costing 130 soles, with concessions available, or you can pay for entry at the site.



The Inca Pisac ruins offer incredible mountain views



© Getty Images

Sacsayhuamán is the perfect place to visit if you enjoy hiking

3 SACSAYHUAMÁN CUSCO

This stunning Inca fortress, believed to have been built during the reign of Pachacuti, is situated close to the city of Cusco and can be reached after a ten-minute drive or a 45-minute walk. Famous for its tightly constructed stone walls, with each piece of stone cut differently and joined together without the use of mortar, Sacsayhuamán stands as a testament to the clever engineering employed by the Incas. It took over 20,000 men to build this fortress, using stone from nearby quarries, but sadly only 40 per cent of the original site still remains. While Sacsayhuamán was used by the Incas for ceremonial purposes, it was famously used as a stronghold by the Incas during the battle of 1536, with Sapa Inca Manco Inca Yupanqui successfully fending off an attack by

the Spanish during his siege of Cusco. However, when the Spanish seized control over Cusco, they rebuilt it in their style using stones taken from Sacsayhuamán, leaving behind the heavy stones of the lower walls and towers. The remaining ruins serve as a reminder of one of the most important moments in Incan history and are a must-see for those who want to learn more about this remarkable civilisation. While at Sacsayhuamán, visitors should also take the time to visit the ruins of Tambomachay, Qenqo and Puca Pucara nearby.

Open seven days a week, 7am to 5:30pm. Either a Full Cusco Tourist Ticket (130 soles) or Partial Cusco Tourist Ticket (70 soles) will allow entry.



Ollantaytambo has some of the best-preserved Inca ruins

© Getty Images

5 OLLANTAYTAMBO OLLANTAYTAMBO

The town of Ollantaytambo was conquered and rebuilt by Pachacuti, who installed terraces for farming, an irrigation system and storehouses as part of the impressive Temple Hill, which is also known as the fortress. This site was famously the last stronghold and citadel for Manco Inca Yupanqui during his battle against the Spanish, with a military area located at the top offering a vantage point that allowed the Incas to see the arrival of enemy troops. However, Ollantaytambo was eventually captured by Francisco Pizarro and his men, forcing Manco Inca Yupanqui to retreat to the jungles of Vilcabamba where he founded the Neo-Inca State. Visitors will be able to see a number of the citadel's structures, including the storehouses and the Princess Baths - where ceremonial bathing took place - as well as the ones that were left incomplete, such as the Temple of the Sun, the Enclosure of the Ten Niches and the Wall of the Six Monoliths. It is said that the face that can be seen carved in the mountain is that of Viracocha, the Inca deity of creation, with the ruins offering some of the most spectacular walks and views in Peru. Ollantaytambo is also a common starting point for those who wish to take on the iconic Inca Trail, which is travelled by thousands of tourists every year.

Open seven days a week, 7am to 6pm. Either a Full or Partial Ticket will allow entry.

4 CHOQUEQUIRAO ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARK CASERÍO MARAMPATA

The Inca ruins at Choquequirao are some of the most remote in Peru, and they are frequently cited as the lesser-known twin of Machu Picchu thanks to the structural similarities between the two. Despite this, Choquequirao is far larger than Machu Picchu, and it is also situated on higher ground, with the site remaining well-preserved due to the fact that it was never discovered by the Spanish. Surrounded by an ancient irrigation system and numerous examples of Inca stonework, Choquequirao was likely used by the Incas as an administrative checkpoint, as they had to travel through the area in order to reach the jungles of Vilcabamba. Among the structures that visitors will be able to see include temples, shrines, houses and baths, but it is strongly recommended that anyone wishing to visit research their trip to the ruins beforehand, because the remote trek takes around two days. While excavations at the site began around 40 years ago, roughly only 30 to 40 per cent of Choquequirao has been explored, and so there are still many mysteries waiting to be uncovered.

Open all year round, it is best to visit Choquequirao during the dry season, from April to October.

Choquequirao offers a very challenging trek for explorers



© Getty Images



THE INCAN EMPIRE

Historical Treasures MINIATURE GOLD LLAMA

AN OFFERING TO THE MOUNTAIN DEITIES INCA EMPIRE, C. 1500

The Inca believed that gold was the sweat of the Sun God, Inti, and representative of the sun's regenerative powers - since they considered the Sapa Inca to be the descendant of Inti, all the gold belonged to him. Gold was an ideal choice for offerings because it did not tarnish like other metals nor did it perish like food, but figurines such as this one are rare survivors thanks to the Spanish, who conquered the Empire and melted Inca objects made from gold and silver for wealth. In comparison, gold had no material value to the Inca, who considered it to be a sacred metal.

Llamas were indispensable to the Inca, particularly because the only other domestic animals available to them were guinea pigs and alpacas. They had a multitude of uses, providing meat for food, wool for clothing and fertiliser for crops, as well as serving as transport and as pack animals for the Empire. On top of this, llamas could also withstand the high altitudes of the mountainous terrain and survive in the cold, so it's no surprise that the Inca bred thousands of them.

While llamas were sacrificed to the gods, miniature gold llama figurines were often used alongside miniature human figurines as offerings to the mountain deities, usually accompanying a human sacrifice. The Inca practised the sacrificial rite known as Capac Hucha or Capacocha (which means 'royal obligation'), in response to important events such as the death of the reigning Sapa Inca, or as a way to prevent or bring an end to natural disasters.

Pure, healthy and perfect children were chosen as a sacrifice for the Capac Hucha ceremony because they were seen as the ideal representatives of their people. It was considered a great honour to be chosen as a sacrifice and families were expected to give their children up willingly, with the children eventually sacrificed high up in the Andes. Spanish chroniclers such as Juan de Betanzos wrote about the sacrifices of the Capac Hucha ceremonies, but it is important to remember that their accounts deliberately painted the Inca in a bad light to justify the Spanish invasion and decimation of the Empire.

PRECIOUS MATERIAL

This figurine was excavated in Peru and acquired by the British Museum in 1921, which is where it remains today. Just like other miniature gold figurines from the Inca Empire, this llama is wrought from sheets of hammered gold.

CRUCIAL CAMELIDS

The Inca empire built terrace farms on their mountainous territory, which was made possible thanks to thousands of Llamas. The mammals helped to drive the Inca economy and so they are often described as the power behind the empire.

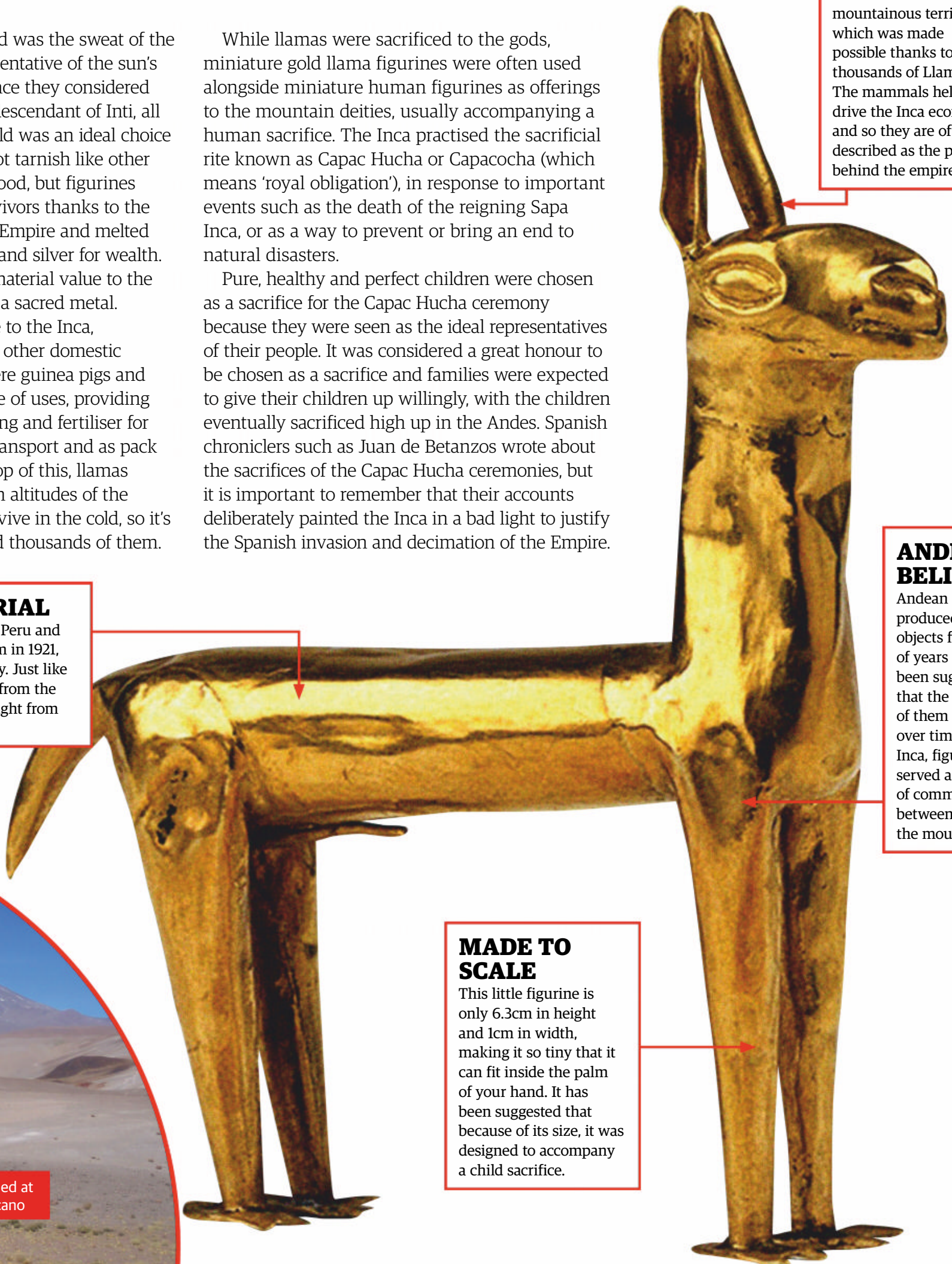
ANDEAN BELIEFS

Andean civilisations produced miniature objects for thousands of years and it has been suggested that the purpose of them evolved over time. For the Inca, figurines served as an act of communication between them and the mountain deities.

MADE TO SCALE

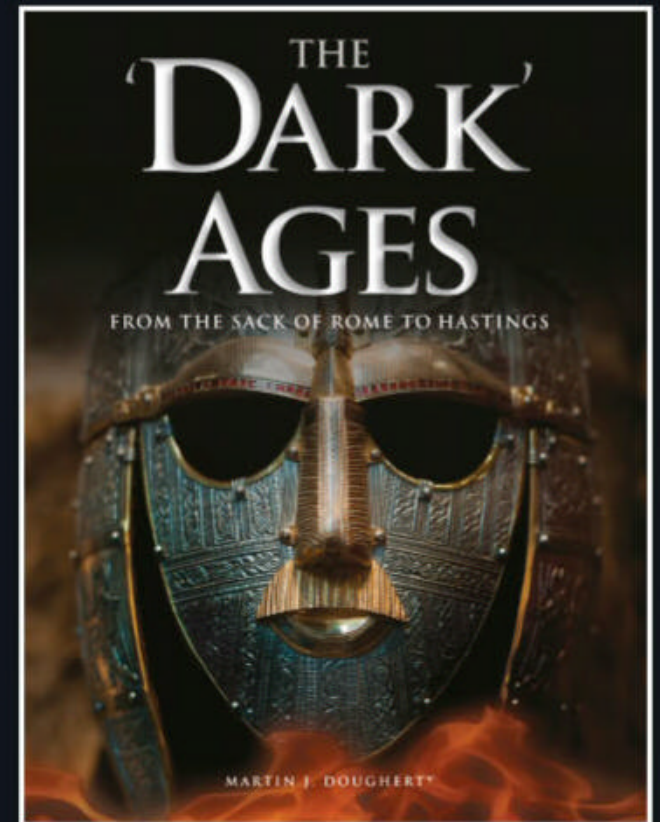
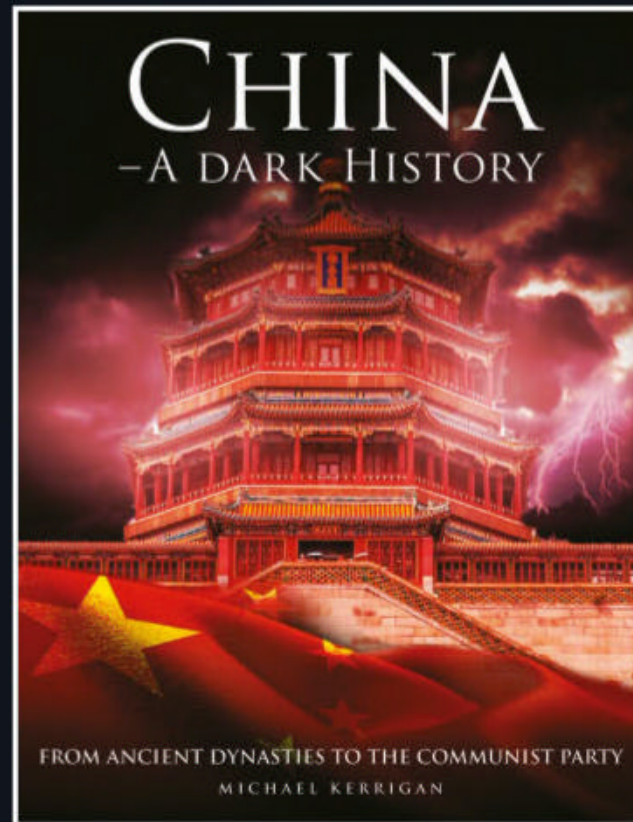
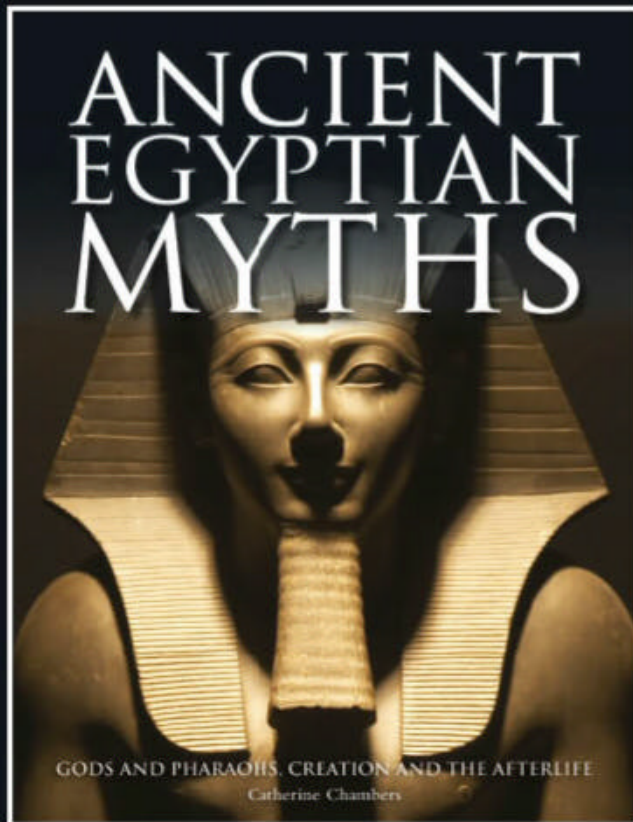
This little figurine is only 6.3cm in height and 1cm in width, making it so tiny that it can fit inside the palm of your hand. It has been suggested that because of its size, it was designed to accompany a child sacrifice.

Some sacrificial rites were performed at the summit of the Llullaillaco volcano

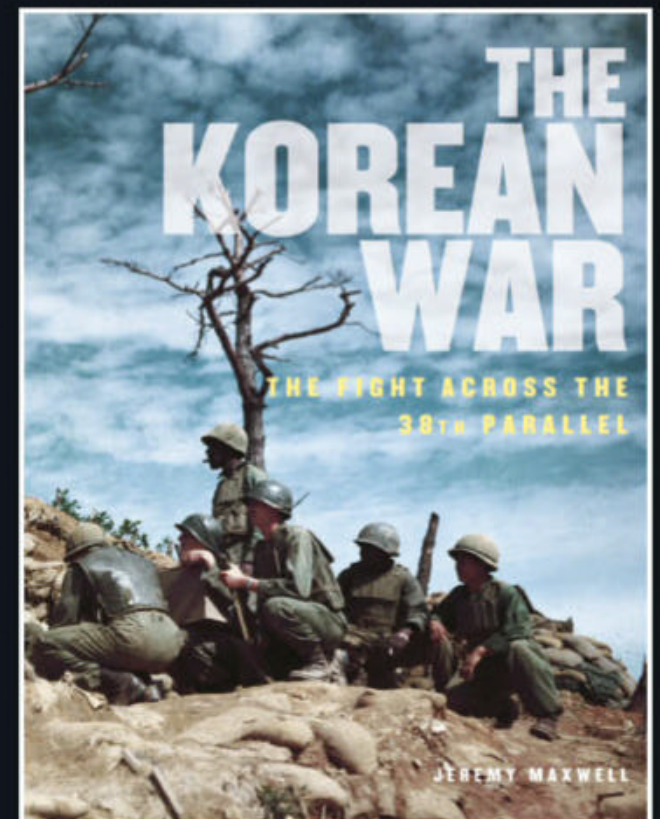
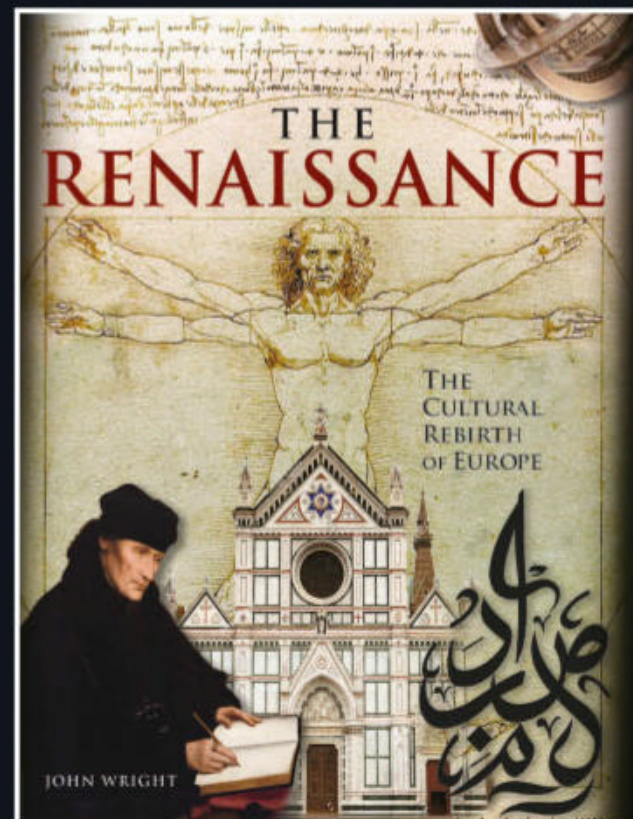
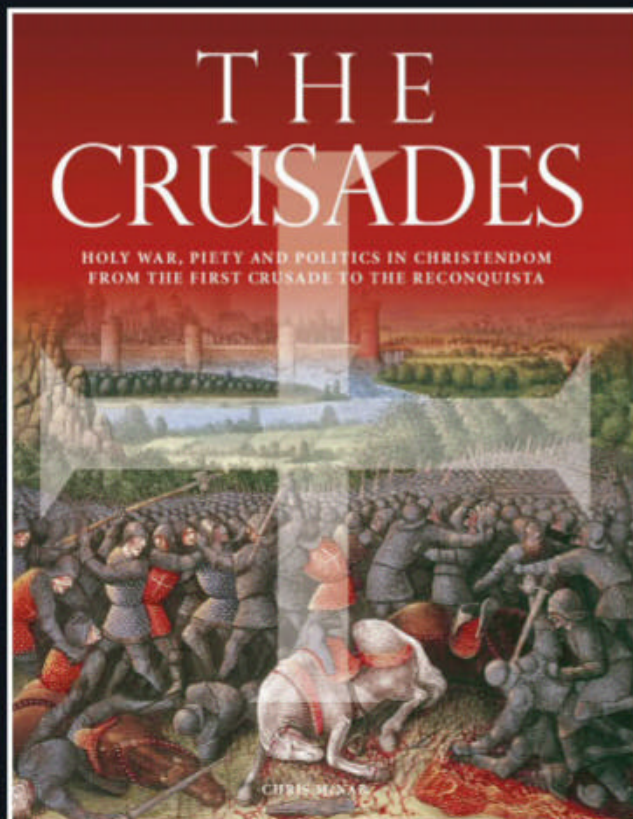


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Cult of the SUN KING



Did Louis XIV's lust for power sow the seeds of revolution?





In the early hours of 6 January 1649, the ten-year-old Louis XIV and his younger brother Philippe were woken from their sleep and hustled into a carriage that was waiting outside their apartments in the Palais Royal in Paris. Accompanied by their mother and Louis's regent, Queen Anne, the two boys were whisked away to the safety of Louis' birthplace, the Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, just outside Paris, only to discover that it was completely unprepared for their arrival, and in a state of disarray. The reason for the young king's hasty flight from his capital was the Fronde uprising, a civil war that broke out in the spring of 1648 as the result of a bitter stand-off between the crown and the parliament of Paris, inflamed by Queen Anne's chief minister Cardinal Mazarin's efforts to raise money for the Thirty Years War, which involved raising taxes, that impinged on various fiscal privileges enjoyed by the nobility for centuries. The Italian-born Mazarin was already universally loathed throughout France by the nobility, bourgeoisie and peasantry alike, but it was this latest tussle with the parliament that proved to be the final straw, leading to violent demonstrations on the streets of Paris and simmering discontent among the aristocracy. Matters worsened when the regent, Queen Anne, who completely relied on Mazarin, doubled down and had a number of the chief leaders of Parliament, including the extremely popular Pierre Broussel, arrested, which brought the royal family into direct opposition with the rebels and made them a focus for their wrath. Broussel was released two days later, but the damage was already done, and relations between the crown and the mutinous Parisians continued to deteriorate until finally the decision was made to flee the capital.

For ten-year-old Louis, who had been King of France since the age of four, this seemingly precipitous flight from Paris was both an exciting adventure and a sobering reminder of just how fickle his people could be. He loathed being cooped up at Saint-Germain, and although he was not yet able to participate in council meetings, he quickly became aware that his current plight was primarily the fault of the parliament and nobility, which led him to view them with a deep and unwavering resentment. This feeling was compounded when just a few weeks after Louis's flight from Paris, his uncle by marriage, Charles I of England, was executed in London after a strikingly similar disagreement between crown and parliament had spiralled out of control and ultimately ended in a devastating and bloody civil war and the loss of his throne. Meanwhile, the presence of Charles I's impoverished widow Henrietta Maria and her youngest children, who were financially supported by Louis' mother and living on the fringes of the French court, was further disturbing evidence of just how low royalty could fall if they failed to control their rebellious



Hyacinthe Rigaud's magnificent portrait of Louis XIV shows the famous Sun King in 1701, and was intended to convey the monarch's prestige and power



“This feeling that he alone was divinely appointed to rule over France would crystallise throughout Louis’ childhood and adolescence”

subjects. Charles I had been an enthusiastic proponent of the doctrine known as the Divine Right of Kings, which asserted that monarchs were divinely appointed by God and therefore subject to no earthly authority, including that of their parliament. That this belief had led to Charles’ autocratically dismissive handling of his parliament and ultimate downfall and execution should have deterred other rulers from following suit, but to the spoiled and adored Louis, who had been given the middle name ‘Dieudonné’ (the ‘God given’) in reference to his seemingly miraculous birth after his parents had been married and fruitlessly attempting to produce an heir for 23 years, the theory apparently made perfect sense. This feeling that he alone was appointed to rule France would crystallise through Louis’ childhood and adolescence, boosted by the ongoing Fronde rebellion, which dragged on until 1659 and effectively fostered both his intense dislike of Paris and a serious distrust of the French nobility.



Even in his childhood, Louis’ image was curated to reference ancient gods and mythology

Although the royal family eventually returned to Paris after that first flight to Saint-Germain, they never felt entirely safe. On one humiliating occasion that Louis would remember for the rest of his life, a mob gained entry to the royal apartments at night, and upon demanding to be allowed to see their sovereign were allowed to reverently file past the royal bed in order to see the boy king, who swallowed his fury and pretended to be asleep, for themselves.

Unsurprisingly, the royal family packed up and once again fled the capital shortly afterwards. More humiliating still was the fact that so many members of the highest aristocracy, including Princes of the Blood, and even members of Louis’ own family, sided with the rebels. The Prince de Condé, a celebrated general who was beloved throughout France, initially fought on the side of the crown until he was persuaded to swap sides and lead troops against the royal forces instead, which led to Queen Anne ordering his arrest. Even worse, Louis’ own uncle Gaston, Duc d’Orléans, an



PUBLIC IMAGE

Louis XIV carefully curated his image to ensure that his people both respected and feared



France had been in varying degrees of turmoil for well over a century before Louis XIV’s accession and he was determined to unify the nation with himself as figurehead, bringing much needed order to the realm. To accomplish this, it was not enough that he should be a mere man, albeit one who wore a crown – he would need to be something more, something godlike in both outward splendour and omnipotence.

At ground level, Louis loved to be seen as approachable, and was punctiliously polite and kind to everyone he met, regardless of their social class, but the image that he wished to project from a distance was very different, and specifically designed to underline the distance between himself and his people. Other leaders might have cultivated a more paternal image, portraying themselves as the affectionate but firm father of the nation, but Louis, who was fascinated by the Roman Emperors, decided to follow a rather different path and instead portray himself as akin to an actual god, more specifically Apollo, the charismatic sun god who also governed truth, light, knowledge and poetry. To this end, Louis ruthlessly engineered his own image and reputation, carefully ensuring that every painting, engraving and sculpture displayed him at his magnificent best, inspiring reverent respect from his subjects and fearful awe from everyone else.

Even in old age, when Louis was corpulent and infirm, no longer the handsome and athletic king that he had been in his youth, he still managed to project an unassailable aura of power and majesty that almost made those around him forget his infirmities.

Louis quickly realised that one of the best ways to secure power was to keep his nobility as close as possible



“L'état, c'est moi,” he allegedly declared, and he did not allow anyone to forget that he was in charge”

inveterate troublemaker, sided with the rebellious nobles while his daughter Anne-Marie-Louise, Duchesse de Montpensier, who was determined to marry her cousin Louis as soon as he was old enough, ended up being exiled from court as a result of her active participation in the rebellion, which famously included ordering that the Bastille cannons be fired on royal forces - an unwise move that cost her any chance of marrying her cousin and becoming Queen. Although he was still a child, and to an extent shielded from the decision making, military manoeuvring and political ramifications of the Fronde rebellion, he understood enough to form his own opinions about who was responsible for the outrages against his royal authority and determine a plan to ensure that it would never happen again.

Although Louis officially reached his age of majority two days after his 13th birthday in September 1651, and had his coronation three years later, he was still very much under the control of his mother Queen Anne and her chief minister Cardinal Mazarin, still both as unpopular as ever, who oversaw the day-to-day governance of the realm. Energetic, bold and ambitious, Louis chafed under the restrictions that they imposed upon him, longing for a time when he alone would be master of France and could take full control. Although outwardly confident, the events of his childhood had left him feeling insecure and powerless as well as deeply wary not just of the aristocracy, but also his own extended family, who he now found himself unable to completely trust. As a handsome and charming young king presiding over a magnificent and prestigious court, Louis appeared to outsiders to be very much in control, but in reality everyone close to him knew that the real power remained with his mother and Cardinal Mazarin, who further hampered his freedom by keeping a close eye on the royal coffers. The young Louis must have wondered when this protracted adolescence would finally come to an end, until finally the hated Mazarin died in March 1661, and all of the power and,

just as importantly, royal revenue, began to flow unimpeded towards him. At long last Louis was the master, and from now on he was determined not to share his power with anyone.

At the time of Mazarin's death, Louis was 22 years old, and had been King of France for almost 18 years. He had been terrorised, patronised and sidelined - but not anymore. When asked who would replace Mazarin as chief minister, Louis astonished everyone by announcing that there would be no replacement, and that instead he would be ruling entirely alone. “Up to this moment I have been pleased to entrust the government of my affairs to the late Cardinal,” he informed his council. “It is now time that I govern them myself.” From now on, although he would accept advice and direction from his ministers, every decision would ultimately be made by him, and he would personally oversee everything himself.

It worked in Louis's favour that his period of absolute personal rule followed hot on the heels of a protracted period of internal turmoil, while Mazarin had been so widely detested and his death so little regretted throughout the nation that his replacement by the charismatic and popular young king was greeted with great joy and optimism for the future.

Right from the very beginning, Louis proved himself to be an effective ruler, with a particular genius for selecting the very best advisors and most efficient administrators for his council. The difficult early years of his reign may have left him extremely mistrusting of people, but they had also made him a reasonably good judge of character, who richly rewarded loyalty, but was also capable of acting with decisive ruthlessness towards those unfortunate enough to have disappointed him.

Although initially Louis was preoccupied with stabilising the nation's parlous financial situation and establishing himself as an absolute ruler, he was nonetheless keen to move forward with his long-held desire to leave the capital Paris, which he still associated with the terrifying events of the Fronde rebellion. At first the court spent a great deal of time at the sprawling Renaissance



Anne-Marie-Louise, Duchesse de Montpensier ultimately died unmarried and childless





The Cult Of The Sun King

The royal family were also depicted as near-mythological figures alongside Louis



Throughout his reign, Louis XIV showed a particular genius for surrounding himself with talented individuals who were willing to work to enhance his own prestige



palace at Fontainebleau, but he quickly began to look around for a more suitable spot where he could make his own mark and create a splendid palace that was truly worthy of the monarch that he intended to be. His father's old hunting lodge at Versailles, 11 miles outside the capital, seemed at first like an unlikely choice but Louis, who had first visited Versailles in 1651, would not be deterred, and from 1661, shortly after the death of Mazarin, began an intensive programme of expanding and embellishing the original building, gradually creating a splendid palace for himself.

Although Versailles was very definitely calculated to project an aura of majesty and fill visitors, especially those from other countries, with awe and envy, Louis also intended from the very first for his new palace to act as the central powerhouse; the beating heart of his absolutist regime. Once installed there and at a safe distance from Paris and the parliament, he worked hard to cement his position as absolute monarch. 'L'état, c'est moi,' he allegedly declared, and he did not allow anyone to forget that he was in charge. Apparently indefatigable, he worked tirelessly, overseeing every detail of his nation's governance, from taxation to foreign policy and making it clear to his ministers that he was interested in every detail of what was going on, no matter how trivial or unimportant it might appear.

By the end of the decade, Louis was spending most of his time at Versailles, having decided that he needed to put as much distance as possible

between himself and his capital, but he was not able to accomplish a permanent move to the palace until 1682. His distrust of his nobility had not abated since the dark days of the Fronde, and as he did not want to leave them behind in Paris, where they would be free to plot against him, he was forced to come up with an elegant solution to this quandary - he would bring them along with him to Versailles to keep an eye on them. To this end, he ensured not just that they would all be housed, either in the palace itself (where they would fiercely compete over draughty, uncomfortable rooms) or in the elegant town



Louis XV was just five years old when he succeeded his great grandfather as King

that was quickly springing up around the palace, where the wealthiest aristocratic families set about building their own mansions to remain close to the court. Then as now, Paris was renowned throughout Europe as a glamorous and exciting creative hub, where all the latest fashions were set, the greatest minds resided and the most wonderful art created, and Louis knew that he would have to work hard to make sure that his nobles wanted to follow him to Versailles instead by making the court entertainments even more splendid than any that could be enjoyed in the capital, and ensuring that all the most fashionable goods could be just as easily procured at his palace as on the most stylish streets of Paris. There was a price for all of this splendour, though - Louis kept a close watch on everyone at court, including his own family, employing secret police and having all correspondence opened and read, with the juiciest

VERSAILLES

One of Louis XIV's greatest achievements was his palace at Versailles

The Queen's Bedchamber

The sumptuous Queen's Apartments were created for Louis XIV's first wife Marie Thérèse, who moved into them in 1682, just a year before her death, which took place in the bedchamber. Although he was fond of his wife, who was also his first cousin, Louis was not in love with her, and so was content to visit her apartments as little as possible.

The Antichamber of the Oeil de Boeuf

The Antichamber of the Oeil de Boeuf is named for its large round window, and was used as a gathering area for courtiers waiting to be admitted to the King's apartments in the morning and evening. During Louis' reign it was one of the busiest rooms in the palace.

The King's Bedchamber

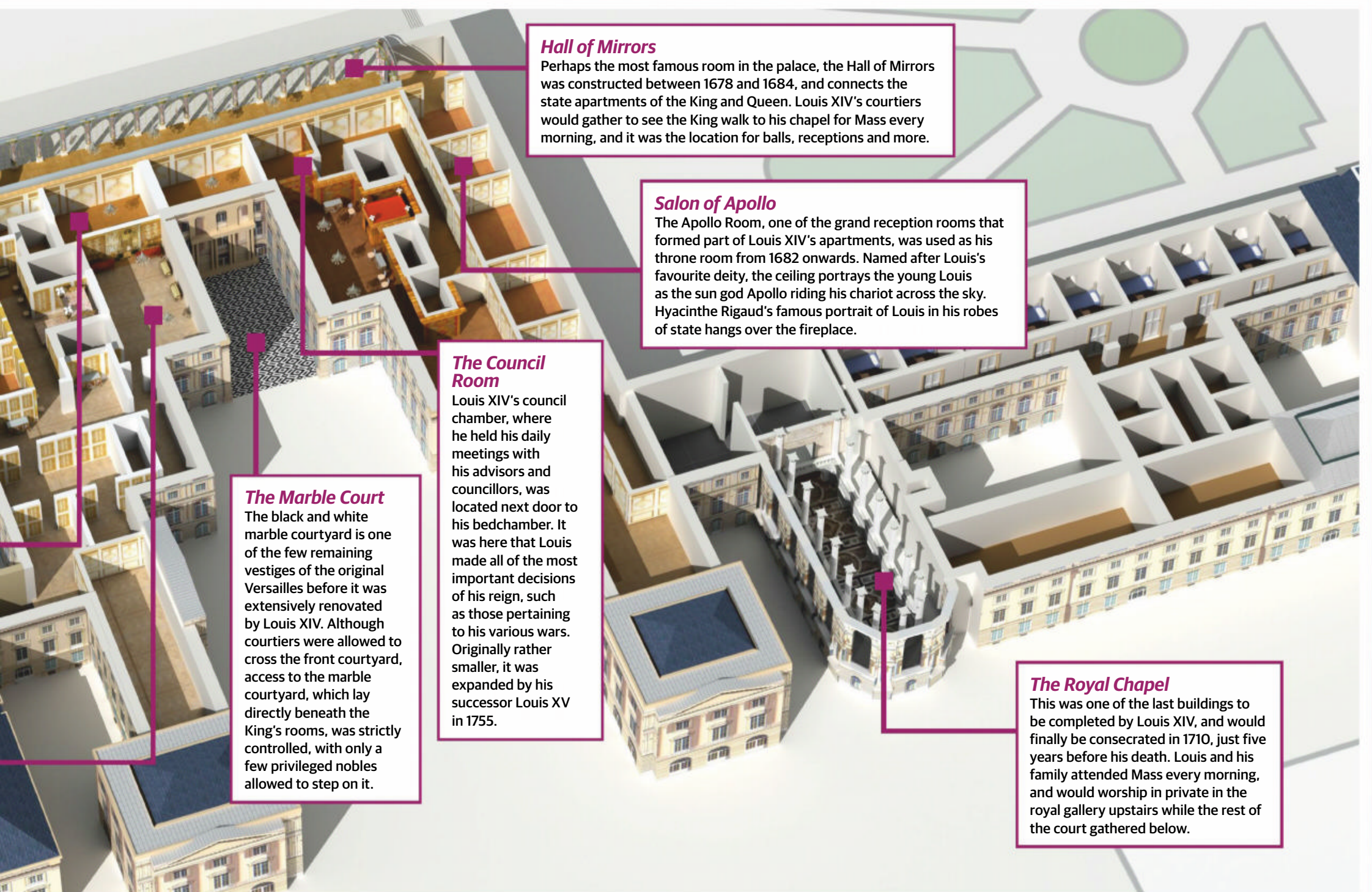
Louis XIV made more than one change to the location of his state bedchamber before settling on this room in 1701. It was here that Louis held his public morning and evening ceremonies, and he would return several times during the day in order to eat meals and receive official visitors. He died here in September 1715.

details being relayed straight back to him - a fact that his family would on occasion use as a means to make him indirectly aware of any complaints that they might have.

He was also keen to ensure that everyone at court knew that he was the centre of their world while they were all merely satellites, orbiting around him with even the most trivial details of their own lives dictated by his daily routine, which they were all, without exception, expected to witness and participate in. The male courtiers were expected to be in constant attendance, which included participating in his morning 'lever' when the highest ranking aristocrats competed to hand him his clothes, accompanying him on his afternoon walk through the gardens, watching him eat his meals and then once again jostling to help when he was publicly put to bed in the evenings. By making his courtiers compete for his attention, Louis sought to remove their will to rebel and make them entirely dependent upon him, and to a large extent he succeeded.

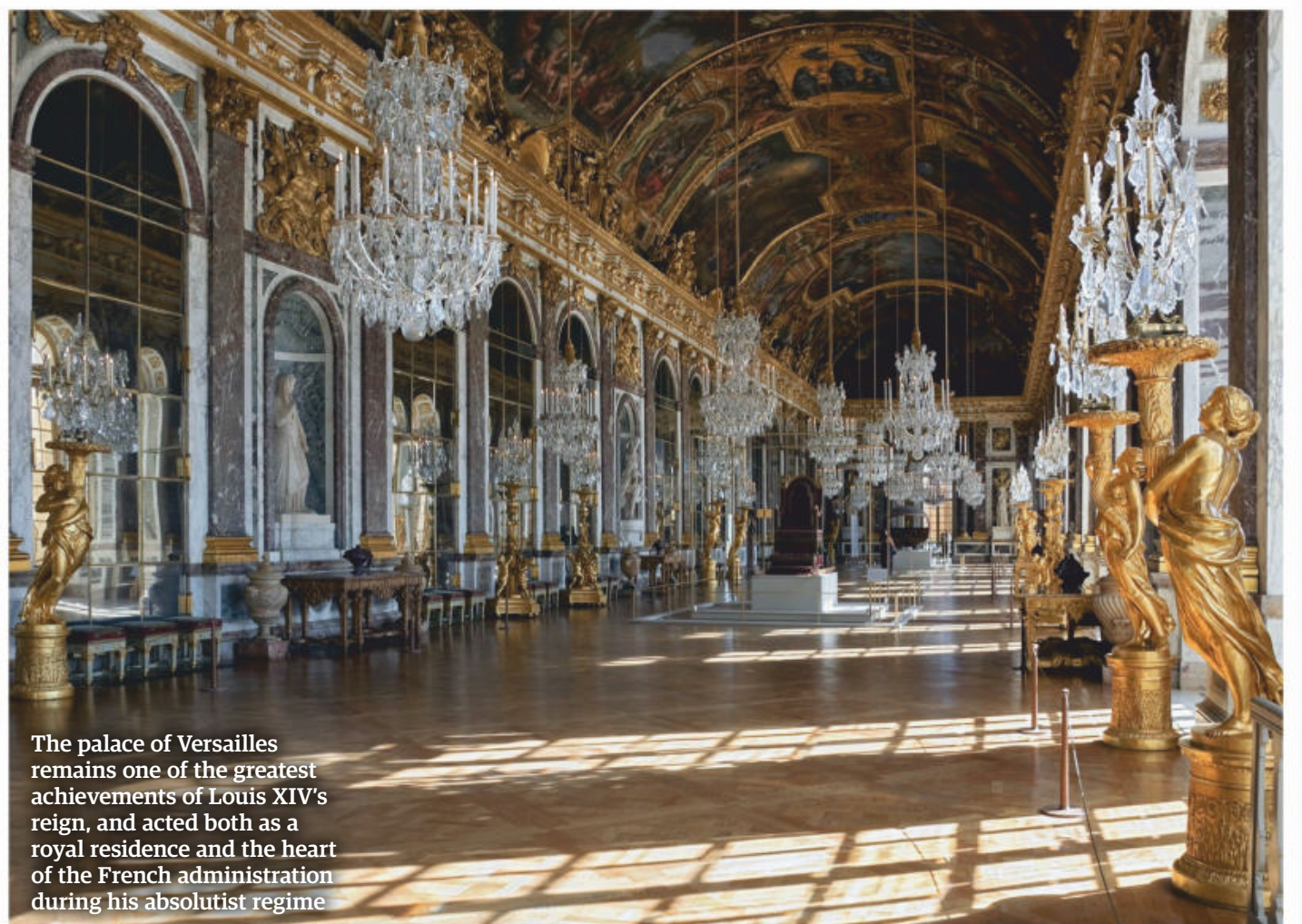
When Louis XIV died at the age of 76 in September 1715, his five-year-old great grandson succeeded him as Louis XV. The Sun King would

Xxxxxxxx The Cult Of The Sun King



have been a hard act for anyone to follow, but it was an especially huge burden for such a small child, especially one as shy as the new King was reported to be. When Louis XIV created Versailles and not only made himself the central focus of one of the most magnificent courts in history, but also placed himself at the head of the administrative structure of the entire nation, he assumed that the system would continue to revolve in exactly the same way around his successor. His son and grandson had both been painstakingly groomed from birth to take the reins after he had gone, but no one could possibly have foreseen that both men would predecease him and that he would instead be succeeded by a child not much older than he himself had been when he became King.

Sadly, unlike his great grandfather, Louis XV did not have a mother to act as regent. Instead, he was placed under the care of the Duc d'Orléans, son of Louis XIV's younger brother Philippe, who took charge of both government and court until the young King had reached the age of 13. As Louis XIV had deeply disliked the Duc d'Orléans, he attempted to curtail his power by stipulating in



ORBITING THE SUN KING

Although Louis XIV was keen to rule alone, he had a genius for surrounding himself with talented people



1 *Anne of Austria, Queen of France (1601-1666)*

Daughter of King Philip III of Spain, Anne of Austria married Louis XIII of France in 1615, but the couple did not have their first child, Louis, until 1638. After her husband's death in 1643, Anne became regent for their young son and worked tirelessly to protect him and his rights. When she died in 1666, he was devastated.

2 *Philippe de France, Duc d'Orléans (1640-1701)*

As the birth of his elder brother Louis was hailed as a miracle after so many years of childless marriage, everyone was surprised when a second child, Philippe, was born two years later in 1640. Although the brothers frequently quarrelled, they were also extremely close, and Louis came to depend upon Philippe's support and loyalty over the years.

3 *Françoise-Athénaïs de Mortemart, Marquise de Montespan (1640-1707)*

Born into one of the oldest and most prestigious aristocratic families in France, Françoise de Mortemart was the perfect choice of mistress for the young Louis XIV. Ambitious, beautiful, sensual and extremely intelligent, she was a driving force in the creation of his magnificent court at Versailles.

4 *Françoise d'Aubigné, Madame de Maintenon (1635-1719)*

Born into an impoverished noble family, Françoise had few prospects when, at the age of 17, she married the poet Paul Scarron, who introduced her to the intellectual circles of Paris. She became friends with Madame de Montespan, who also befriended Françoise – to the extent that she would usurp Montespan's position and become his second wife.

5 *François Le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois (1641-1691)*

The eldest son of the venerable statesman, Michel Le Tellier, Louvois succeeded his father as Secretary of State for War in 1662, and became one of Louis XIV's most trusted ministers thanks to his great success in building France's military strength and curbing the power of the nobility. He is now considered one of the greatest ministers of war in French history.

6 *Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683)*

Although Louis XIV was inclined to distrust those who had been closely associated with Cardinal Mazarin, he made an exception for Colbert, who took charge of the Cardinal's affairs during his exile. After Mazarin's death, Colbert was repeatedly promoted, becoming Minister of Finances in 1661 and acquiring some level of power in almost every department.

7 *Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646-1708)*

Perhaps the most outstanding achievement of Louis XIV's reign was his palace at Versailles, a masterpiece of Baroque architecture. Although Louis had a lot of input into the his palace's design, the man that brought his vision to life was architect and builder Hardouin-Mansart, whose major works include the Place des Victoires and Place Vendôme in Paris.

8 *André Le Nôtre (1613-1700)*

Le Nôtre was a close associate of Louis XIV's court painter Charles Le Brun and the architect Mansart before he was hired to design the gardens at Fouquet's country estate, Vaux le Vicomte. After Fouquet's fall, Le Nôtre was hired by Louis XIV to design the gardens surrounding Versailles. Le Nôtre's work is now considered to be a masterpiece of Baroque garden design.



This portrait by Largillière shows Louis surrounded by his three heirs, two of whom, his son and grandson, had already died



Louis XIV could not have predicted that his successors would not be capable of emulating his achievements, and that the Bourbon dynasty would be deposed within less than a century of his death

his will that until his heir was able to rule alone, France should be governed by a Regency Council made up of 14 members, only for Orléans to overturn this after his death, buying the support of the Parliament of Paris by restoring the right to challenge the King's decisions and authority that had been stripped from them by Louis XIV. This restoration of parliamentary powers would be an increasingly uncomfortable thorn in the side of the French monarchy from this point on, and would ultimately lead to the events of 1789 and deposition of Louis XVI, who was even less able to control his government than his predecessor Louis XV. While Louis XIV had used his own personal charisma and strong will to maintain control and

awkward, diffident grandson, Louis XVI, detested the court routine even more, and went to great lengths to hide away from the watchful eyes of his courtiers, while his wife, Marie Antoinette, would rarely be seen at Versailles, preferring instead to reside in the relative privacy of the Petit Trianon in the palace's park. Louis XIV had used public display, etiquette and ostentatious ceremonies to emphasise his authority and reinforce his position as the centre of the court. However, to his successors, his style of kingship, which was almost akin to a cult of personality, was a terrible burden, although not one that they felt able to change, preferring instead to circumvent it rather than impose their will.

“Louis sought to remove their will to rebel and make them entirely dependent upon him, and to a large extent he succeeded”

keep his ministers in line, neither of his successors upon the throne were able to do this, hampered by both weakness of character and apathy.

Although the Duc d'Orléans had wasted no time before taking the young King Louis XV back to reside in Paris, the boy disliked the capital nearly as much as his great grandfather had done, and could hardly wait to return to Versailles, which he did in June 1722. However, to the naturally shy and retiring Louis, although he was happy to be out of Paris, the rigid etiquette imposed by his great grandfather was deeply tiresome, while the monarch's daily routine, designed to make the King appear accessible while simultaneously keeping his subjects at a distance, penned in behind barriers to watch him get dressed, pray and eat, was a torture. His own successor, his

However, if the King detested the court ceremonies at Versailles, the courtiers had been indoctrinated over time to cling to them, unwilling to give up anything that gave them status, and resistant to any reforms that might reduce their rights. Over time, as the royal family made themselves less accessible by hiding away in their apartments and eschewing court events, they became the focus of ever-increasing resentment from their courtiers, who felt cheated of the close proximity to the King that was the foundation of their exalted status. Louis XIV enticed aristocrats to Versailles with the promise that they would be allowed special access to his person, but when this was gradually withdrawn, they began to feel that they had no reason to remain there, and returned to Paris, where the royal family very rarely went.

While the royal court stagnated, the capital was as exciting as ever, especially as it had become a cradle of bold and innovative Enlightenment ideas, propagated by writers like Voltaire and Montesquieu, in the mid-18th century. To the dismay of the King and his ministers, many of this new breed of philosophers were critical of both the church and the monarchy, preferring the constitutional system in Britain to the absolutist monarchy that ruled over France.

While Louis XIV would have had no qualms about crushing such sedition within his country, his successors were rather less effectual, although some of the more seditious writers, such as Voltaire, found themselves imprisoned and exiled as a result of their views, which just had the effect of making them more popular and strengthening their case that the French monarchy was the very antithesis of enlightened. Marooned in the midst of their magnificent court, which had been indoctrinated during the long reign of Louis XIV into a state of servile compliance and dependency, the Sun King's successors had no idea just how much public opinion had turned against them and, until the very end, just how much danger they were in. Weak attempts were made to reform the system, streamline the court and improve the relationship between monarch and state, but it was too little, too late.

Louis XIV's success as an absolute monarch had been almost entirely due to his strong and decisive personality, but in creating an expectation that the personal attributes of the monarch were crucial to the prosperity of the regime, he did his successors a huge disservice as neither of them were at all suited to the task. It was later said that while under Louis XIV nobody dared to breathe, under Louis XV they whispered, and under Louis XVI, they shouted - to ultimately devastating effect.

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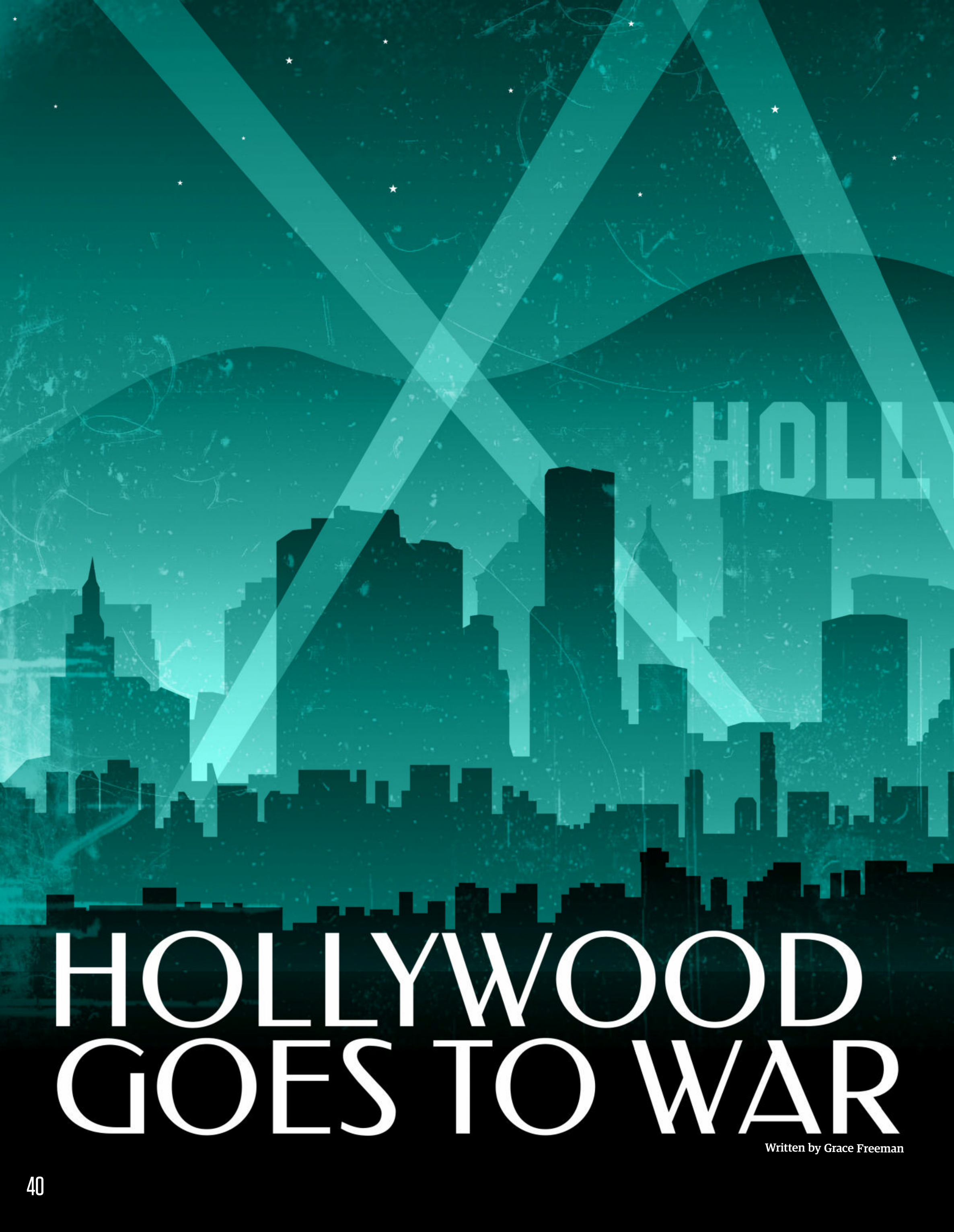


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HOLLYWOOD GOES TO WAR

Written by Grace Freeman



The movie stars who traded in the glitz and glamour of the silver screen for the sacrifice and service of World War II

The Second World War was a time of deep economical, political, and military unrest - and its severe impact was felt not only by civilians, but by well-known faces of film, too.

A multitude of known actors, producers, and singers of Hollywood's golden age played their part in the war effort - with those who were

eligible to do so signing up for service and others fulfilling duties in a plethora of valuable ways - either abroad or on the home-front, often sacrificing their income and lifestyle to do so.

Some were already known performers and, as such, were able to use their celebrity status to encourage further enlistment and influence produced propaganda; others were yet to

achieve stardom, serving only in response to the booming call of duty at the time. The talented leaders of Hollywood's greatest cinematic era all bear legacies that have long outlived them, but many of them have lesser-known stories to tell - stories that carry the most winning of roles and the finest of honours, far more eminent than those earned on the silver screen.

JAMES STEWART

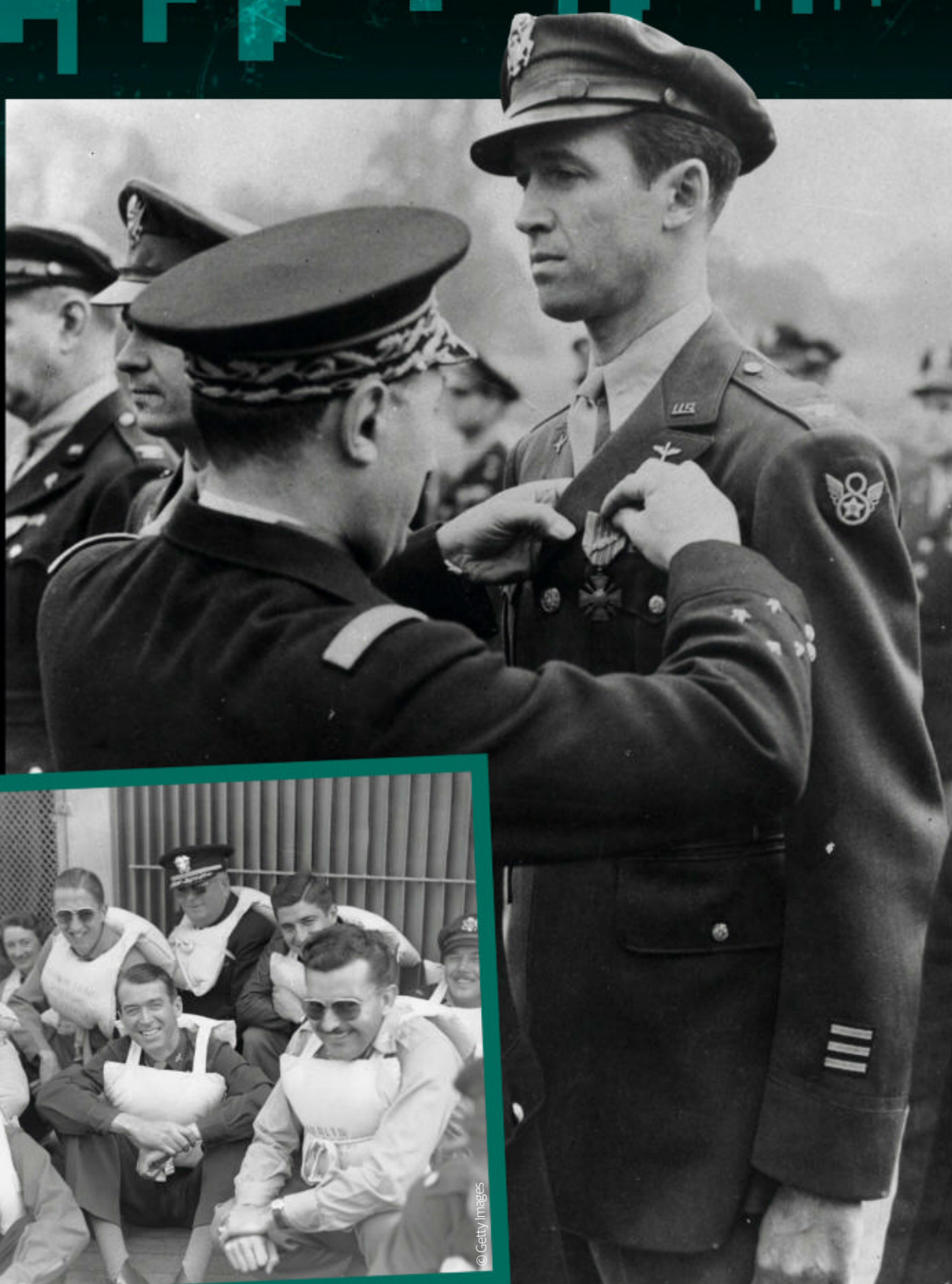
American film actor

America's everyman was one of the only soldiers in the military to reach the rank of colonel within four years

James 'Jimmy' Stewart - award-winning star of *A Philadelphia Story* - was the first American film star to don a military uniform in the Second World War. Due to personal interest he already held a commercial flying licence and attempted to enlist in the Army Air Corps in 1940, but was below the weight requirements and subsequently rejected. Following this, he trained to gain further weight and was ultimately inducted into the army in 1941.

Once enlisted Stewart applied again for admission into the Air Corps and received his instructions as second lieutenant at the start of 1942. Shortly after the Army Air Force commissioned him to appear in a short recruitment film, *Winning Your Wings*; this appeared in cinemas nationwide and resulted in over 150,000 new enlisting airmen.

Over the next two years, he was promoted to first lieutenant, then captain, as he trained amateur pilots across states. Following an aviation mission to Germany in 1944, he advanced to major and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal, and the French Croix de Guerre; by 1945, he had reached the rank of colonel - making him one of the only Americans in military history to do so in such a short space of time.



PAUL NEWMAN

American film actor, director, and producer

The nicknamed 'King Cool' only discovered that he was colour blind upon entering training for the Navy

His first big break in Hollywood didn't come until *The Silver Chalice* in 1954, but Paul Newman enlisted in the army over a decade prior to this. He initially enrolled in the V-12 programme, which aimed to induct a large number of qualified officers for both the Navy and the Marines, but he was later dismissed upon discovery of being colour blind during training.

Following this Newman completed training as both a radioman and a rear gunner, before qualifying in torpedo bombers, which were specifically designed for attacks on naval

ships. He served in the Pacific Theatre in Hawaii, which was the centre of operations for the United States throughout the Pacific War, fought from 1941 until 1945.

In 1945 he was assigned to the aircraft carrier Bunker Hill, along with the rest of his unit, although the leading pilot of his particular aircraft contracted an ear infection, which kept the plane from boarding the vessel. The ship was attacked by kamikazes only two days later and a large number of its passengers were killed, including other members of Newman's squadron.

CLARK GABLE

American film actor

Following the attacks on Pearl Harbour and the loss of his wife within only weeks of one another, the actor enlisted in the army

Often referred to as 'The King of Hollywood', Clark Gable joined the Army Air Force in 1942, following the untimely death of his wife and actress Carole Lombard, who had been killed during a plane crash upon her flight home from a war bond rally in Indiana - she was subsequently declared to be the first American female casualty of the Second World War.

Prior to her death Lombard had encouraged him to enlist in the war effort, but both MGM Studios and President Roosevelt were vocally reluctant for his involvement; he eventually joined in 1942, with the aim of specialising in aerial gunnery and was promoted to

second lieutenant upon completing his training. Gable, just like James Stewart, shot war recruitment films to encourage enlistment, and it wasn't until the following year that he was dispatched abroad for service.

In 1943 he flew on five combat missions to Germany, earning both the Air Medal and the Distinguished Flying Cross. During one particular flight his aircraft was attacked and he narrowly avoided being hit by gunfire; when news of this reached MGM, his duty was relieved to being non-combatative and, although he was promoted to major in 1944, he received no further orders to serve.



REEL OF HONOUR

During the war Hollywood still produced some of its finest films



Casablanca (1942)

Starring Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman and famed for its many iconic lines, *Casablanca* was released in 1942, becoming a growing success and winning the

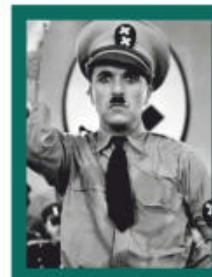
Academy Award for Best Picture. Set during the current combat, it followed an American emigrant who is forced to choose between the woman he loves and helping both her and her husband - a fighter in the Czech Resistance - to escape from the city of Casablanca.



Edge of Darkness (1943)

Also known as *Norway in Revolt*, war drama *Edge of Darkness* is adapted from the novel of the same name.

Starring Errol Flynn it follows the occupants of a Norwegian village who, after two years succumbing to German rule, rise up in resistance. It was directed by Lewis Milestone, who had worked on *All Quiet On The Western Front* - adapted, too, from the acclaimed novel written by a German soldier after the Great War.



The Great Dictator (1940)

The Great Dictator was written, directed, and produced by Charlie Chaplin - who also stars as one of its leads, ruthless dictator

Adenoid Hynkel. In its most famous scene a barber impersonating Hynkel speaks out against the Nazi regime. Chaplin later confessed that, had he known about the extent of the horrors of the concentration camps of the time, he would not have been able to make the film.



Anchors Aweigh (1945)

Frank Sinatra and Gene Kelly were able to bring some light relief to the silver screen, in *Anchors Aweigh*. The film follows two sailors singing and

dancing their way around Hollywood, as they're granted leave from the navy and help an aspiring actress to get an audition. Most-remembered for its scene where Kelly dances with a cartoon Jerry Mouse, the film also offers a glimpse of the studios' headquarters during the war.



HEDY LAMARR

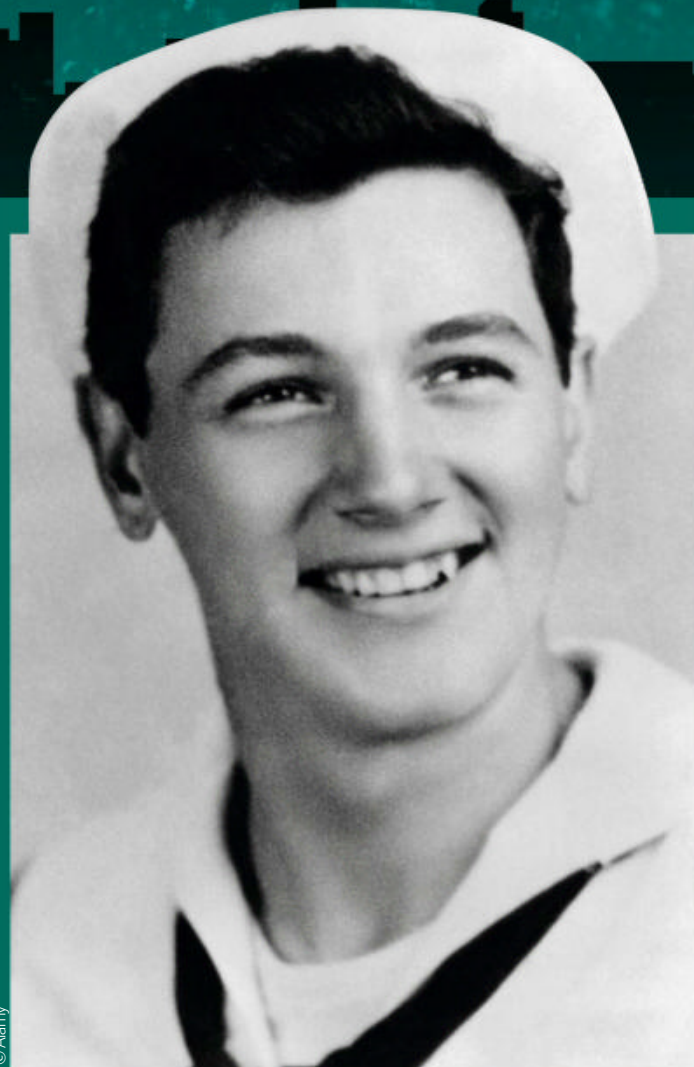
Austrian-American film actress and inventor

Heralded as one of the most beautiful women in the world,
she was an ingenious inventor

Although she was one of MGM Studios' biggest stars at the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, Hedy Lamarr spent her spare time creating and developing inventions - she often collaborated closely with famous aviator Howard Hughes and made valuable contributions to the evolution of his aircraft designs - and was less than eager to continue to use her celebrity status to sell war bonds.

Upon learning that radio-controlled torpedoes were easily blocked and interfered with by enemy fleets, she designed a device with a signal whose frequency could not be tracked or interrupted, allowing Allied torpedoes to remain undetected across various channels - and, along with friend and fellow inventor George Antheil, the blueprint was created and patented.

Despite the inventiveness and significance of the device, it was deemed too technically hard to implement and was dismissed by the Armed Forces; it was over 20 years before an updated version of their creation was used by the navy during the Cold War and Lamarr's key contribution to military technology was recognised. This wireless development would go on to shape further modern inventions and their security, including Bluetooth, GPS, and Wi-Fi.



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ROCK HUDSON

American film actor

When the actor was still known only as Roy Harold Scherer, the then-teenager enrolled as a mechanic in the navy

Rock Hudson - a leading man in Hollywood during the 1950s and 1960s and known for his on-screen romances with actress Doris Day - enlisted into the Navy in 1944, at the age of 19 and almost immediately after he had graduated from high school the previous year.

Known then only as Roy Harold Scherer, he trained in Chicago at Naval Station Great Lakes - the largest naval training station and the navy's only boot camp in the United States - before travelling to the Philippines on the SS Lew Wallace with over 1,000 other

servicemen. Under orders to report to Aviation Repair, he worked as an aircraft mechanic until the end of the Second World War.

Following the end of combat, Hudson returned to San Francisco aboard an aircraft carrier and was discharged from service in 1946; it was after this that he moved to Los Angeles and, after securing a talent agent to represent him, made his film debut in 1948 - *Fighter Squadron* was, somewhat aptly, an aviation war film in which he only had one line.

AUDREY HEPBURN

Belgian-born British film actress

At around the age of 13, the iconic actress participated in a series of activities to support the Dutch resistance movement

Audrey Hepburn, one of the greatest stars of the screen of Hollywood's golden age, was only ten years old when the Second World War broke out in 1939. Upon Britain's declaration of war on Germany her mother moved her and the family back to the Netherlands, where they had lived previously, in the hope that it would remain neutral in the combat, as it had during the Great War.

Less than a year later, the country was invaded by Germany - an occupation that was to last for the next five years - and Hepburn adopted the alias Edda van Heemstra, so as to not sound too British during the enemy's rule. When the family moved to a nearby city, she began to take part in silent dance performances, to raise money for the Dutch resistance movement, as well as volunteering at the local hospital and delivering food to Allies hiding close by; the family also hid a paratrooper in their home during 1944's Battle of Arnhem.

A Dutch famine followed the Normandy landings of the same year and Hepburn contracted both anaemia and respiratory problems as a result of malnutrition. After the war ended in 1945, she trained in ballet in Amsterdam, before moving to London to work in the West End and getting her early TV and film roles.



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HENRY FONDA

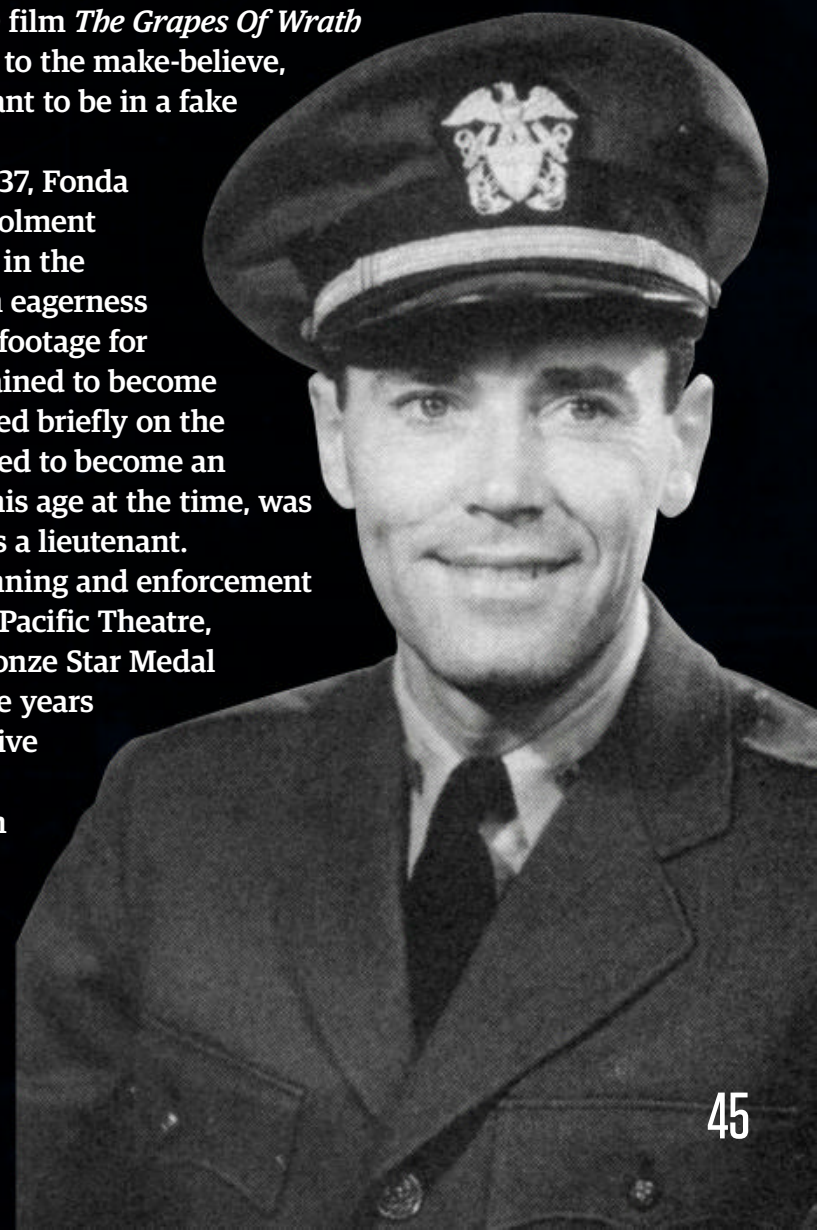
American film and theatre actor

Although keen to enlist at the time - and persistent in his enrolment - the actor was considered by many to be too old to serve

By the time that the Second World War was underway, Henry Fonda had already tread the boards of Broadway, made his critically-acclaimed Hollywood debut, and been nominated for an Academy Award for his performance in the 1940 film *The Grapes Of Wrath* - but he put quick pause to the make-believe, saying that he didn't "want to be in a fake war in a studio".

At the then-old age of 37, Fonda was persistent in his enrolment and enlisted in the navy in the summer of 1942, with an eagerness to contribute more than footage for recruitment films. He trained to become a quartermaster and sailed briefly on the USS Satterlee, then applied to become an officer - though, due to his age at the time, was commissioned instead as a lieutenant.

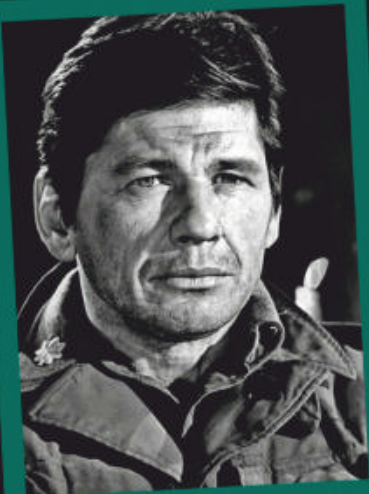
He assisted in the planning and enforcement of aerial missions in the Pacific Theatre, and was awarded the Bronze Star Medal for his efforts. After three years of service, Fonda left active duty towards the end of 1945 and at the cessation of the war, though he continued to rank in reserve until his official resignation in 1948.



CHARLES BRONSON

Lithuanian-American actor

During his years of service the actor participated in over 20 aerial missions across the Pacific Ocean



Before he was a wild vigilante taking up the cause of the defenceless with Steve McQueen in *The Magnificent Seven* and *The Great Escape*, Charles Bronson enlisted in the army in 1943, at the age of 22. He joined the Army Air Forces and first served in the 760th Flexible Gunnery Training Squadron.

In 1945, he trained as an aerial gunner in Guam within the 39th Bombardment Group, assigned to a B-29 bomber plane and participating in dangerous combat missions against Japan. During his service in the unit, Bronson flew in 25 missions, during

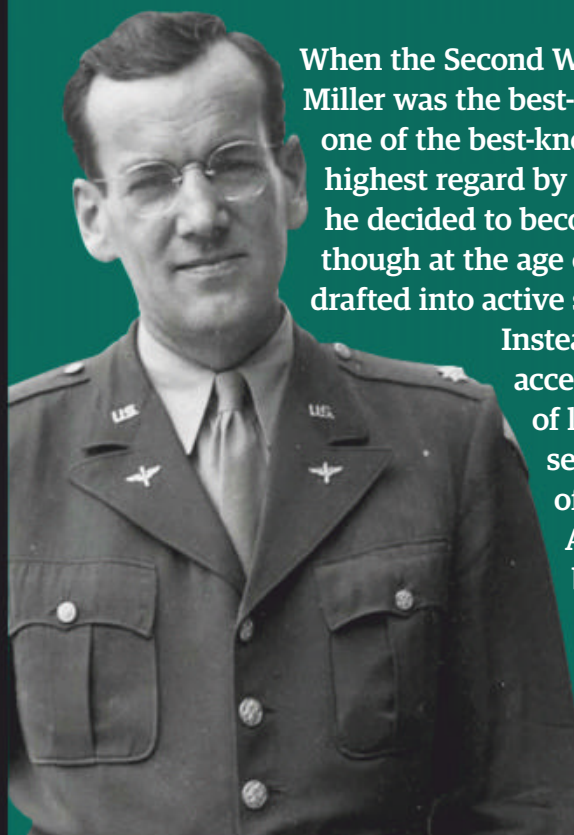
one of which he sustained significant injuries to his arms. As a result of these wounds, he retired from active duty and was rewarded with the Purple Heart for his three years of service.

Following this, he used his entitlement to the GI Bill, offered to all ex-military servicemen, to study at art school, before taking up acting classes and securing small parts in films for more than a decade - until his big break came in 1960 as one of the cowboying septuplets.

GLENN MILLER

American big-band composer

The composer and band-leader used his much-loved music for morale, entertainment, and propaganda



When the Second World War began in 1939, Glenn Miller was the best-selling recording artist, leader of one of the best-known swing bands and held in the highest regard by the likes of Frank Sinatra. In 1942 he decided to become involved with the war effort, though at the age of 38, he was deemed too old to be drafted into active service and declined by the navy.

Instead Miller convinced the army to accept his enrolment, with the intention of leading an army band. He first served as an assistant special services officer playing the trombone in Alabama and across the radio waves, before forming his own, larger marching band, which evolved into a 50-piece Army Air Force Band. His patriotism and commitment to entertainment of the troops earned him the rank of captain.

WALT'S WAR

The soldierly story of the world-famous animator and producer

Hollywood's involvement with the military stretches back beyond the Second World War; one of its most-known patrons was Walt Disney, who had previously enlisted and served in the Great War. The United States joined the Allied cause in 1917 and many young and patriotic Americans were eager to fight - the then-16-year-old Disney included.

His two older brothers had already been drafted - Ray into the Army and Roy into the navy - the latter of which was most appealing. He was, however, rejected from the navy due to his age and instead signed up for the Red Cross Ambulance Corps in September 1918.

Assigned to a base in Chicago, Disney learnt to drive and repair vehicles and finally made it across to France in December, to assist with the Red Cross once the Armistice had been signed. He continued to sketch wherever he could before being discharged and returning home in 1919.



KIRK DOUGLAS

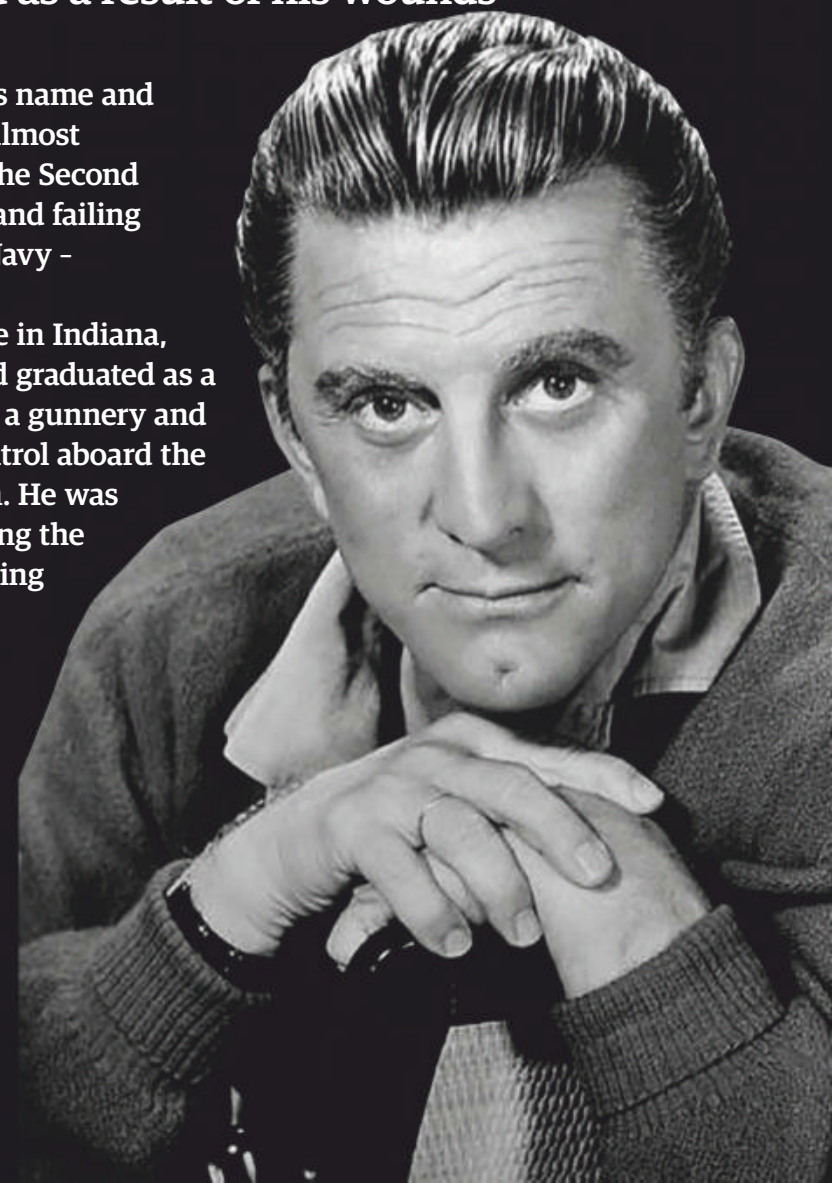
American actor and film-maker

After being rejected from the army, the actor served in the navy for three years before being discharged as a result of his wounds

Born Issur Danielovitch, Kirk Douglas changed his name and enlisted in the Navy at 1941, at the age of 25 and almost immediately after the United States had entered the Second World War. After not passing his psychology test and failing to be accepted into the Army, he enrolled in the Navy - despite his poor eyesight.

Douglas trained at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana, where the navy had installed a training camp, and graduated as a naval infantry officer. Following this he served as a gunnery and communications officer for the anti-submarine patrol aboard the USS PC-1137, which sailed across the Pacific Ocean. He was stationed here for much of 1942 and 1943, patrolling the war-zone for Japanese submarines, and it was during one of these vigils that he was injured, suffering internal wounds when an explosive charge detonated prematurely.

Douglas convalesced for some months in hospital in San Diego, before being permanently discharged from active service in 1944. After this, he returned to working in radio and theatre and had planned to remain a stage actor until he was recommended for his first on-screen role - by friend and starlet Lauren Bacall.



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THAMES TREASURE HUNTERS

Mudlarks search rivers for the hidden secrets of the past and often turn up unexpected histories

Written by Ben Gazur

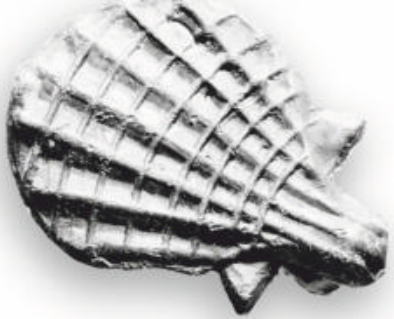
It is nine in the morning and I am reaching down into the mud of the Thames foreshore to grab something that may not have seen the light of day for centuries. Above me thousands of commuters are scurrying to their offices with barely a glance at the river that bisects London.

One person must have noticed it, though, because they toss away a piece of litter that lands near me as I stand up clutching my prize

– a broken piece of Roman pottery. For as long as people have lived beside the Thames they have been using it to gather food, as a water source and as a rubbish dump.

This is lucky for me and many others called mudlarks who now scour the Thames foreshore for the historic artefacts revealed every time the tide drops. The history of the city can be told from the things the river chooses to reveal.





HISTORY FROM THE MUD

Mudlarking was not always the passionate pursuit of amateur archaeologists that it is today. Once mudlarks were among the most wretched of the poverty-stricken levels to which the London poor could fall. With each tide grime-spattered people would clamber down to the banks to see what treasures they could find to sell for enough to pay for a meal. Pieces of coal dropped into the mire would be grabbed, cleaned and sold for a pittance.

Of these, some would achieve notoriety. Peggy Jones of Bankside was noted for wading into the river before the tide was fully out to rake up the mud and recover any coal that had accidentally been dropped. When she approached a boat being loaded with coal it was not unknown for a sailor to surreptitiously kick one at her. With her legs still covered in mud she would then go about her way through the streets, shouting her wares.

For the children and the elderly their work on the river could mean surviving for another day, or could cause their death from drowning, hypothermia or disease. Parents with too many children and not enough money were happy for the pennies that children could bring in through mudlarking. One 13-year-old boy in 1861 recounted how he made his living by picking up coal, iron, copper, bits of canvas and wood. Even fat thrown off a boat by a ship's cook could be hauled from the river and sold for three farthings a pound. These mudlarks lived on the edge of the society whose leavings they picked over: "The Thames'

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police often come upon us and carry off our bags and baskets with the contents."

Today mudlarks in London do not have to fear the police - so long as they have the correct license. Anyone who wants to go hunting there must apply to the Port of London Authority. Mudlarks today are generally not looking for coal or other detritus, but for artefacts from the past.

LONDON BEFORE LONDON

London's history long predates the very idea of a city. Modern humans are relative newcomers to the area where London can now be found, but the River Thames has long been welcoming visitors. Between ice ages it has played host to creatures as diverse as woolly mammoths, woolly rhinos, hippos and lions. Evidence of all these animals can be found along the foreshore, with mammoth teeth showing up under Putney Bridge and a 70,000-year-old polar bear jaw near Kew Bridge.

It may well be the presence of animals alongside the Thames that first attracted human beings to the area, but our knowledge of Londoners in the neolithic is extremely limited. A mudlark discovered the oldest human skull fragment found in the river when he mistook it for a piece of

pottery. Radiocarbon dating revealed it to be 5,600 years old, but there is earlier evidence of humans beside the Thames.

The large flints that often wash up beside the river were once a valuable commodity from which razor-sharp tools could be knapped. Flint axes, arrowheads and small scrapers have all been found by mudlarks in much the same condition as when they were dropped. Rarer finds give an insight into the beliefs of our ancestors.

The Thames was a place where items were seemingly deposited for spiritual reasons. In the Museum of London one polished axe found in the Thames is made of a beautiful, mottled-green stone of a type only found in the Orkney Isles. This would have been a high-prestige item for its stone-age owner, and would not have been given up lightly. Other axes have been found made from jadeite transported all the way from the Alps. The Thames, it would seem, has always been a cosmopolitan river.

With the passing of the stone age and the coming of bronze, devotional offerings to the Thames did not stop. Bronze swords, shields, helmets and other small bronze items have all been found that date from the bronze and iron ages. The preponderance of weapons make it

Mudlarking was risky, especially for children and the elderly



© Getty Images



Mudlarks were once among the poorest of people, scavenging a meager living from the detritus of the river Thames

unlikely that a warrior was simply out for a paddle one day and dropped their sword. We will never know whether they were deposited in the waters of the Thames as offerings to gods, spoils of war or another unguessed-at purpose, but they offer vital insights into prehistoric London.

ROMAN HERITAGE

London was founded by the Romans as a city some time after 43 CE. Londinium soon became a major port town for the Roman occupation of Britain, with the town rapidly growing along the banks where the current London Bridge stands. When Boudicca sacked the city in 60 BCE much of the ruined town was simply pushed into the Thames to allow for rebuilding. Scorched Roman roof tiles that turn up near ancient Londinium may bear mute testimony to the horrors of the attack by the Iceni.

After this initial setback London soon became a major population centre and trade hub for the province. Mudlarks have found evidence of Roman life that might otherwise not be reflected in the archaeological record. Because of the preserving nature of the oxygenless, anaerobic Thames mud, bone artefacts survive particularly well. It is not uncommon to find bone hair pins with intricate decorations that would once have supported an elegant Roman lady's hair. Bone dice and round gaming tokens made of bone show a love of gambling and games - and possibly frustration at losses when they were cast into the river.

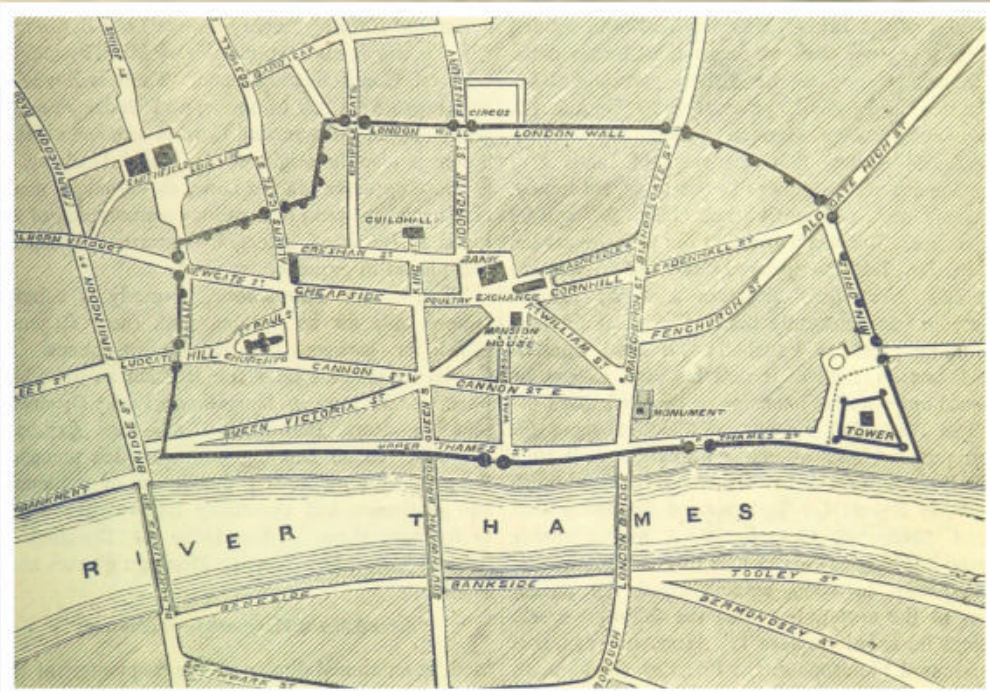
DOS AND DON'TS OF MUDLARKING

A few things to know before you go hunting for treasure or artefacts in the Thames

- ✓ **DO GET A LICENSE:** The Thames foreshore is governed by the Port of London authority, and anyone wanting to go mudlarking there requires a license, even for eyes-only searching.
- ✓ **DO CHECK THE TIDES:** A Putney church has "Tide and Time wait for no man" painted below its sundial. Make sure you know when the tide will turn or you may get trapped by the incoming water.
- ✗ **DON'T GET TRAPPED:** The difference between high and low tide in the Thames in central London is around seven metres - the water comes in quickly. Be sure you know how to get off the foreshore.
- ✓ **DO GET UP CLOSE:** Many of the artefacts from the Thames can be found by just casting your eyes across the surface of the foreshore, but there are delights to be found if you get closer. A mudlarking license lets you dig down 7.5 centimetres to see what is lurking below the surface.
- ✓ **DO RECORD THE LOCATION OF YOUR FINDS:** The Thames is the largest archaeological site in the capital, and mudlarks do a great deal to help map what it contains. If you find something that looks like it may be of interest, mark the spot as closely as you can.
- ✗ **DON'T GET STUCK IN THE MUD:** Thames mud is marvellous in its ability to preserve delicate items, but it can also form a treacherous morass. Unwary mudlarks have been known to lose their wellies to sucking patches of mud. Don't get in too deep.
- ✓ **DO WASH YOUR HANDS:** The Thames may not be the stinking river of the past, but it can still contain raw sewage after heavy rains and other nasties at the best of times. 'Thames Tummy' is not something you want to bring home with you.



The Blitz devastated London, but left many unexploded bombs buried in the ground or eroding into the Thames - with mudlarks often discovering them



The ancient walls of London were first built by the Romans and act as a good guide as to where Roman artefacts can be found in the Thames

Shards of Roman pottery like this decorated Samian Ware can be found in many places along the Thames foreshore



Clay pipes are the most common find for mudlarks in London and date from the 16th to the 19th century



“IT IS AS MUCH AS ARCHAEOLOGISTS CAN DO TO RECORD THEIR POSITION BEFORE THEY ARE WASHED AWAY FOREVER”



Organic matter also tends to survive in Thames mud in a remarkable state of preservation. When one wooden Roman hair comb was pulled from the mud it still had many of its wafer-thin teeth attached – complete with ancient head lice.

One of the most remarkable recent Roman finds from the river was a complete oil lamp made of terracotta. Pressed from a mould somewhere in North Africa in the 4th or 5th century CE, the lamp was simply laying in the mud waiting to be found. The next tide may well have smashed it, but instead a mudlark picked it up, and a new piece of evidence for the amount of international trade during the Roman period was saved.

As well as mundane items such as pottery and lamps, the Romans left some of their religious history in the Thames. Intaglios, the stones from rings with carvings on them, often depicted gods, but other items are rather less obviously holy. Male followers of the goddess Cybele were known to ritually castrate themselves to show their devotion to her. In 1840 a pair of highly decorative bronze clamps were pulled from the Thames that may well have been used to staunch the flow of blood from those who chose to worship in these ways. The Romans built stout walls around Londinium, but they could not stop the flow of history, abandoning their British province to fend for itself around 410 CE.

RECORDING YOUR FINDS

Sometimes you find extraordinary items, and there are schemes in place to record them

It's unlikely that you will find treasure while mudlarking. In the UK treasure is mostly legally defined as objects consisting of gold and silver. They must be reported to a coroner within 14 days of being unearthed. Objects that did not meet the criteria of treasure were often held privately and never recorded by archaeologists. To stop them being lost to scholars the Portable Antiquities Scheme was created.

Now finds liaison officers based at museums will record items that are discovered that they deem to be of historic interest. They will photograph the item, mark its find location and identify it before entering it into a database. The item remains the property of the finder, but can now be accessed by experts.

With a national database of finds to search through, new sites of archaeological interest have been identified and explored.

AFTER THE ROMANS

With the departure of the Roman army from Britain, London continued to function much as before. There was no instantaneous collapse of civilisation. Invasions by the Angles and Saxons did, however, bring about huge changes in the way society functioned, and this is reflected in the mudlarking finds from this period.

Instead of the grand stone buildings so loved by the Romans and Romano-British, many constructions were made of more ephemeral materials. At very low tides in certain parts of the city, wooden structures emerge. These can be as simple as hexagonal poles driven into the banks of the Thames to support a platform or as intricate as fish-traps woven from pliable twigs. Dating from the Anglo-Saxon period, these wooden finds survive because of the anaerobic environment of the Thames mud. Because of their delicacy and the natural erosion of the foreshore, it is as much as archaeologists can do to record their position before they are washed away forever.

Small artefacts that can be taken from the river give us a clearer view of what Anglo-Saxon London was like. Horseshoes made of iron can fit comfortably in the palm of your hand. What they considered mighty stallions might today be thought of as ponies. Coins from different kings can be used to map the ever-changing territorial claims of monarchs and the amount of trade between regions. One coin found by a mudlark was minted by King Burgred of Mercia, whose rule was cut short when Vikings threw him from his throne and out of the country.

There are those that claim the nursery rhyme “London Bridge is falling down” refers to an attack by Viking raiders under King Olaf II of Norway. Typically bellicose items such as axe-heads and swords from the Viking era have been found by mudlarks, as well as more pacific goods like coins and wooden hair combs.

The Norman conquest brought about a revolution in the way Britain was governed, but these changes can be hard to spot in the archaeological record preserved by the Thames. A coin with a Norman king's head on it is fairly distinctive, but the pottery used in 1065 differs very little from the pottery used in 1067. That life for most people carried on with little alteration is an interesting discovery in itself.

INTO THE MODERN CITY

There are places along the Thames foreshore where the rising and ebbing tide makes a sort

of music. As the water moves it creates a jangling sigh as shards of pottery and shards of glass strike against each other. For the most part it is easy to tell the period a piece of pottery dates from. Rich green glazes point to medieval ceramics. Outside the Globe Theatre the knobs from the top of money boxes can be found. Patrons of the theatres in the area would deposit their money in the ceramic jars that were entirely sealed to stop the collectors stealing the ticket money. Only later were they smashed open to release the coins. Colourful English delftware was made from around 1550 to 1700. A complete timeline of human habitation could be constructed from the fragments of pottery on the foreshore.

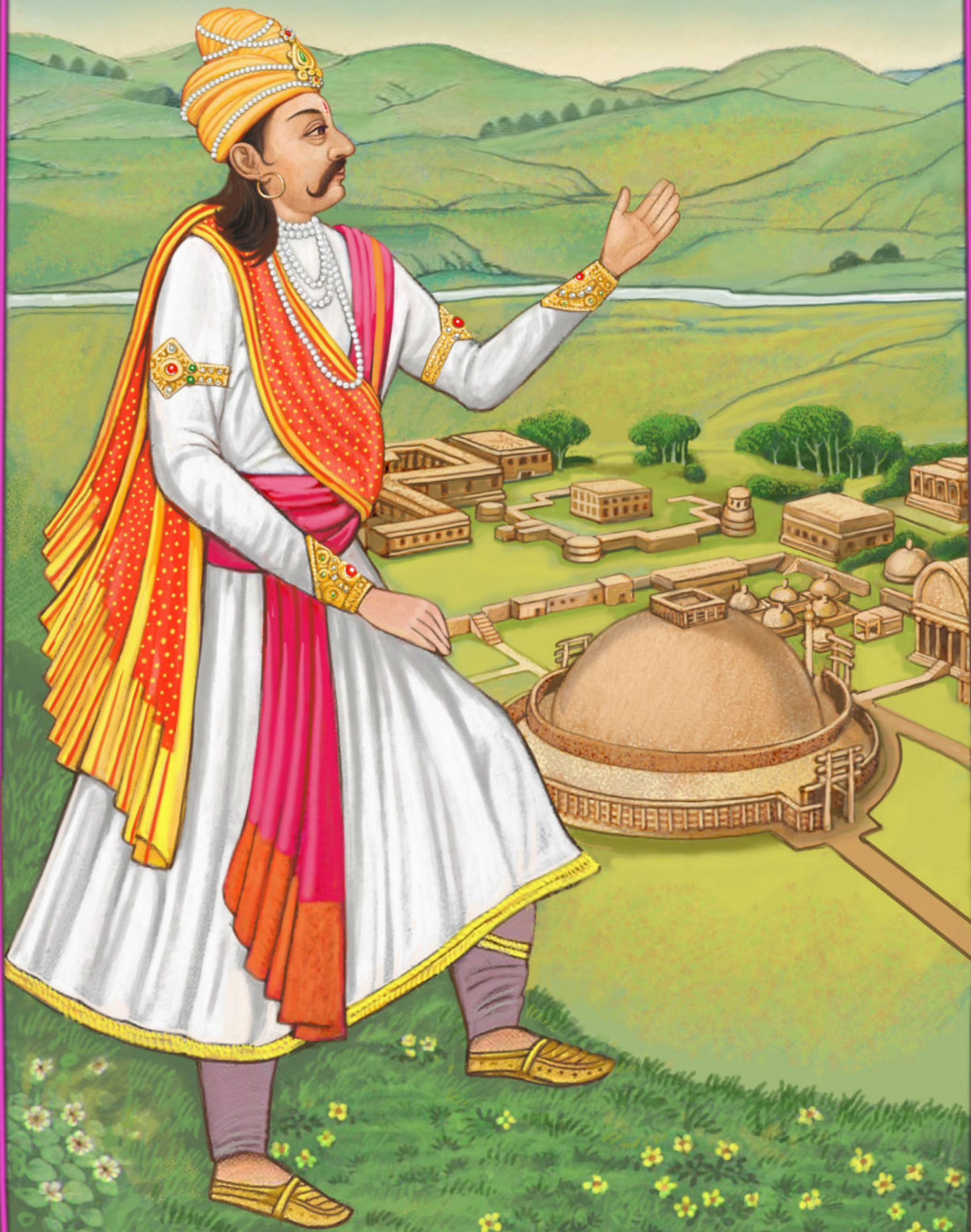
The most common find by far for mudlarks in London are the remains of clay pipes. Smoking first reached London in the 16th century, and it soon became an addiction for Londoners. The earliest pipes, often called Elfin pipes, are tiny. This is because tobacco was so expensive. As the amount of tobacco imported to Britain increased, the price dropped, and pipe bowls became increasingly large to accommodate more.

The 20th century completely reformed London. When the Luftwaffe bombed the city, vast amounts of debris were thrown down into the Thames, where it remains today as piles of brick. They also left other gifts for mudlarks to find. Unexploded bombs still turn up out of the Thames with alarming regularity, and must be reported to police for disposal.

The Thames is, however, still a living river, with ever more history being deposited all the time. Often it is just beer bottles tossed over the sides of bridges, but sometimes it is something more special. Hindus living in London may leave small offerings by the river. These can be images of deities or even gold statues. Votive offerings to the river are among the earliest finds we have from the Thames, and perhaps these modern religious items will one day join those prehistoric ones in a future museum.

Sometimes it can feel a little like grave robbing to comb the Thames for the fragments of people's lives, but the Thames is a remorseless grinder of history. What it throws up today will be reduced to mud tomorrow as the tides pummel it into the stony shore. If we want to reclaim the history of the city before it disappears forever, it has to be collected and recorded. Mudlarking is a dirty business... but someone has to do it.





India's Philosopher King

While Ashoka began his reign as a bloodthirsty conqueror, he soon had a change of heart, creating the world's first welfare state

Written by Hareth Al Bustani

At the start of his long reign, India's King Ashoka seemed destined to become one of history's great conquerors. Instead, having spilled much blood to seize and expand his realm, he did something far more remarkable - he disavowed violence.

The move was all the more spectacular considering his lineage. His grandfather, Chandragupta, was a force to be reckoned with. A brilliant warrior, Chandragupta commanded a mercenary band in the service of Alexander the Great, before overthrowing India's Nanda kingdom and establishing his own dynasty, the Maurya in 322 BCE. He went on to unite the subcontinent's north and west, kicking the Macedonians out - with an army of 600,000 men, 8,000 elephants and 30,000 cavalry - and ruling over the subcontinent's greatest empire for a quarter of a century. The Jains say he abdicated the throne to his son, before fasting himself to death.

Indian society was governed by an increasingly rigid caste system, topped by the Brahman class

of Vedic priests. Though Chandragupta was born to one of the lower castes, he filled his court with Brahman. His son, Bindusara, went on to subjugate the subcontinent's south, cutting through the Deccan plateau, into Mysore - earning himself the nickname 'Enemy-Slayer'. Although he failed to capture the kingdom of Kalinga to the east, he was said to have fathered 101 children, naming his eldest son, Sushima, his heir. One of his numerous dalliances resulted in a boy named Ashoka, a child

who seemed set for a life of misery and obscurity. Not only did he suffer from a skin condition that left him "rough and unpleasant to touch", but he was prone to fainting and fits of epilepsy.

His afflictions made him a wicked youth, supposedly burning his entire harem alive after hearing them gossiping about his skin. Short and stout, he depended entirely on his wits, making an ally of his father's chief minister, with whom he schemed against his brothers. Eager to put

When Ashoka visited the newly conquered Kalinga, beyond the pomp and grandeur, all he could see was the horrors of war



"Ashoka's early years were ruled with an iron fist, as he received daily briefings from an elaborate, far-reaching intelligence network of spies"

these skills to good use and keep his son at arm's length, the king sent Ashoka, now known as 'the Wrathful', to put down a rebellion in the northwestern province of Taxila.

Receiving a hero's welcome, Ashoka went on to forge alliances with two mountain leaders of Kashmir - so successfully, his father named him the viceroy of Ujjain. There, he met a merchant's daughter called Devi, a committed Buddhist, and defied convention by marrying her for love, rather than prestige. Back in the capital, the prodigious heir Sushima had caused an uproar by slapping a senior minister on the back of his bald head, for comedic effect. Fearing the fickle whims of the future king, the courtiers had his rival claimant Ashoka recalled to the capital. Leaving his lowly wife and children behind, Ashoka returned and married Asandhimitra, from a small kingdom north of modern Delhi, naming her his chief queen. Sushima, meanwhile, was sent to suppress another revolt in Taxila.

In 274 BCE, the king fell gravely ill and ordered Sushima to return, instructing Ashoka to take his place. Desperate to remain in the capital at this critical juncture, Ashoka feigned sickness, and had the chief minister intercept the message to Sushima. Incensed, Ashoka then confronted his father, demanding he be named regent in a manner so shocking, the emperor supposedly fell into an epileptic fit and died. When Sushima finally arrived at the capital, he found his half-brother defended by a wall of Greek mercenaries. According to the Mahayana Buddhist account, the chief minister dug a ditch within the eastern gate, filled it with coals and covered it with reeds and dirt, before egging the crown prince on,

encouraging him to seize his throne. As Sushima rushed into the unguarded eastern gate, he tripped into the fiery hole, enduring a slow, painful demise.

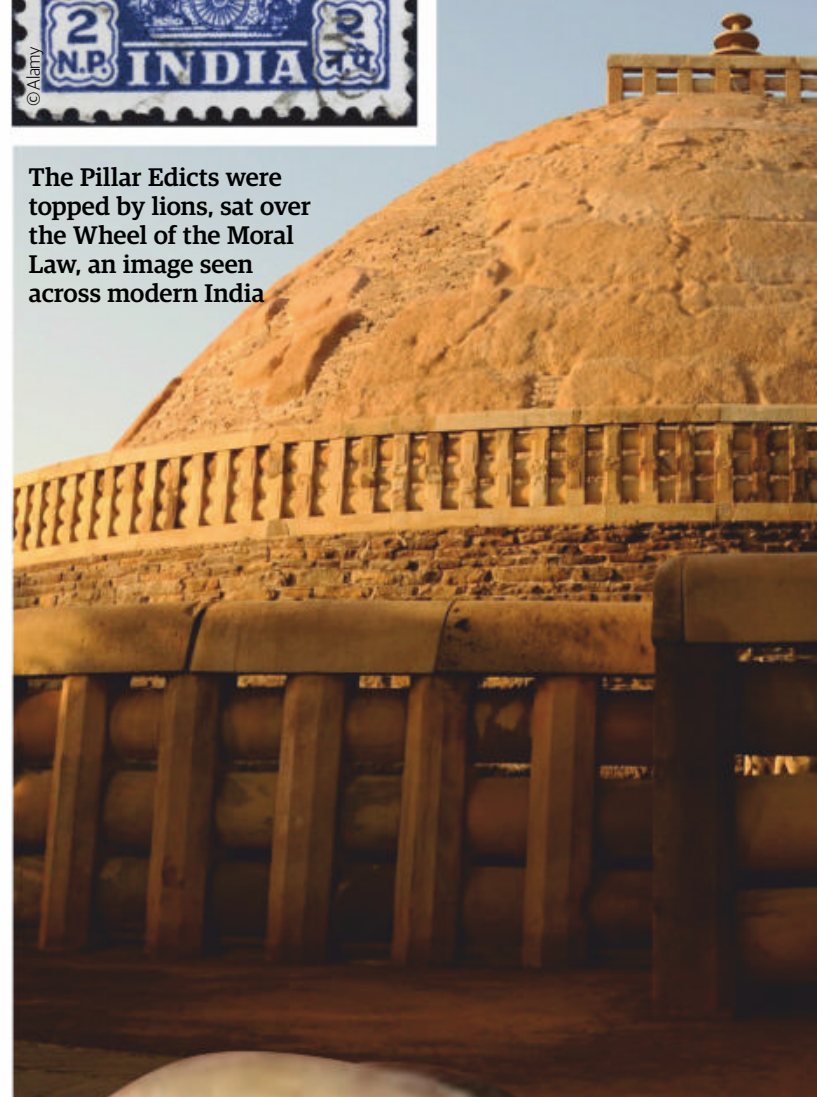
In the ensuing four years, legend tells how Ashoka killed his remaining 98 half-brothers one-by-one, sparing only his uterine sibling, Vitashoka. Having finally wiped out all other male heirs, he enjoyed the rites of coronation. During the ritual, he was cleansed, anointed and consecrated by Brahman priests, emerging a king of divine authority. Now he was the physical embodiment of Dharma itself - the cosmic truth. Adopting his grandfather's title, Devanampriya, 'Beloved of the gods', and the regal name Priyadasi, or 'Beloved to behold', he appointed his younger brother vice-regent. The emperor would go on to take six wives and scores of concubines, fathering 14 children.

He took quickly to leadership, assessing the affairs of the realm, receiving gold revenues, appointing officials, writing letters, overseeing military exercises and even going hunting. He nominated four princes to serve as viceroys, overseeing the district officers, mahamatras - who, in turn, managed a further group of subordinates. Cities, meanwhile, were run by commissioners with judicial powers.

Ashoka's early years were ruled with an iron fist, as he received daily briefings from an elaborate, far-reaching intelligence network of spies. One account tells of how he built a 'Hell Prison', which looked beautiful on the outside, but was filled with the 'five great agonies' of Hell. He allegedly appointed a man called Chandagirika his chief executioner, tasking him with killing people by all manner of depraved tortures, only to later have him tortured to death.



The Pillar Edicts were topped by lions, sat over the Wheel of the Moral Law, an image seen across modern India



The Original Machiavelli

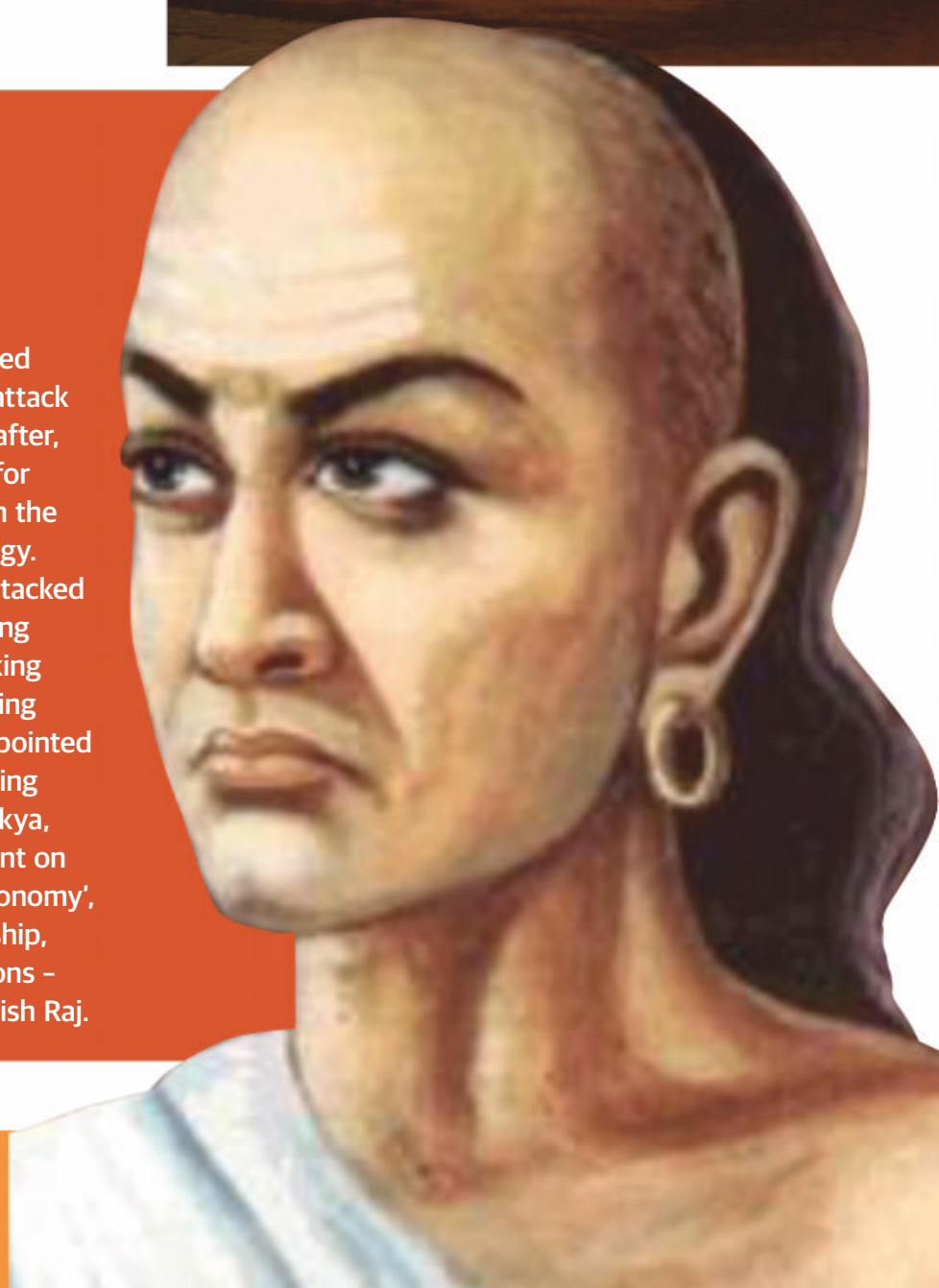
The Mauryan dynasty began with a genius, determined to deliver his empire from danger, and hell-bent on revenge

Chanakya was born to a Brahman family in the northwestern province of Taxila - a centre of culture and learning where the finest studied science, economics, law, medicine and warfare.

A teacher's son, the genius became a professor himself at a young age, and his study of politics led him to believe that India's Nanda kingdom was in a dangerously vulnerable state. In the event of an invasion, he worried the entire realm would soon collapse. Desperate, he travelled east to the capital of Pataliputra, to advise the Nanda king, only to find him a manipulative tyrant. The experiment ended in disaster, with Chanakya fleeing disguised as a Jain ascetic - eventually coming across a brash young boy called Chandragupta.

Taking the young lad under his wing, he gave him a holistic education, hoping to mould

him into the ideal ruler. As the two amassed financial support, they mounted a direct attack on the Nanda, failing spectacularly. Soon after, the duo watched a mother scold her son for eating the hot centre of a bun, rather than the cool edges - prompting a change in strategy. Shoring up allies in the Himalayas, they attacked the outskirts of the kingdom, slowly carving it up piece by piece, before eventually taking the capital itself and sending the Nanda king fleeing. Thereafter, Chandragupta was appointed king, creating the Maurya dynasty and ruling in the mould of Chanakya's design. Chanakya, nicknamed Kautilya or 'the Crow Like', went on to pen *Arthashastra*, 'Treatise on State Economy', outlining his theories on statehood, rulership, political economy and international relations - ideas that would survive well into the British Raj.





Although he loved meat, and particularly enjoyed eating peacock, in 265 BCE - whether under the influence of his mother, his first wife or a young monk who miraculously survived his 'Hell' - he converted to Buddhism. It was a political masterstroke - one that would allow him to further whittle away the influence of the Brahman caste, by simply transitioning their authority away to the humble Buddhists.

He immediately began replacing the 60,000 Brahman on his payroll with 60,000 Buddhist monks - who saw their ranks swell with Brahman converts. However, it would be a few years before he took his new faith seriously enough to give up his beloved peacock meat. During this transition, in his eighth year in power, eager to accomplish what his father could not, the king went against the tenets of his newfound faith and invaded the unconquered eastern kingdom of Kalinga.

The ensuing war would prove far bloodier than he could have imagined. Although the king succeeded in subjugating and drawing Kalinga within his yoke, 100,000 were killed in the violence, and 150,000 displaced. Even amidst the glory of conquest, as he toured his new province,

littered with corpses and ruins, the human toll shocked Ashoka to his core. Rather than pride, he simply felt grief and shame.

Hurling himself deeper into Buddhism, he disavowed violence, and began a second phase of leadership, 'Ashoka Dharma'. He commemorated this transformation in 260 BCE, with a public display of piety, inscribing the first of many 'Rock Edicts', pronouncing his conversion to Buddhism. These would later culminate in the Pillar Edicts, inscribed pillars of magnificent polished stone, crowned by lions, bulls and elephants, sat atop the Wheel of Moral Law.

The king sometimes spent three quarters of the year touring the empire, inscribing rock faces in the subcontinent's first written script, Brahmi, which was developed to communicate his mother tongue of Prakrit. This gave him the means to speak directly with every single one of his subjects.

In the process, he delivered a fascinating array of philosophical, heartfelt musings - unfiltered and raw, a far cry from the modern politician's sanitised public statement.

"He was said to have built 84,000 stupas and monasteries across the realm, one for each of the Buddhist discourses"

One of his rocks directly expressed remorse for the invasion of Kalinga, lamenting: "Peasants who behave with humility towards their friends, servants and labourers are killed in wars and separated from their loved ones". The king added, "This has distressed me considerably. Why should this happen?" He then vowed to eschew thoughts of war and direct all his energies to Dharma going forwards, encouraging future generations to do the same. "The triumph of Dharma is superior to the triumph of war."

As he became consumed by his Buddhist faith, this idea of Dharma would become a leading tenet of his leadership going forwards. Curiously, he sought not to enforce the Buddhist notion of

Dharma upon the empire, but to create a society governed by a universal force of mutual respect and kindness - or as he put it, "All men are my children". It was a system of civic ethics, rather than a state religion. In one edict, he denounced the "meaningless rituals", synonymous with Brahmanic worship, instead encouraging people to adopt rituals and customs of "respect for elders" and "treating all living creatures well" - including slaves and labourers.

He insisted that "there should be restraint in preaching one's faith", adding that "a person who praises his own faith and derides the faith of others is actually bringing his faith into disrepute". After all, Buddha himself had said it was behaviour, not birth, that determined whether one was a "priest or an outcast". While all this served to disgust the Brahman, nothing enraged them so much as his edict denouncing the sacrifice of animals. In the statement, Ashoka even confessed that while his royal kitchens still killed two peacocks and a deer every day to make curry, these too would soon be spared.

During this new phase of governance, Ashoka's political administration largely resembled that of his grandfather. His mahamatras travelled

Buddha's birth, and a further 100,000 to the Bodhi tree where Buddha received enlightenment.

The king also revived the magnificent Pancavarsika festival, reimagining it in line with his Buddhist faith. At the end of the proceedings, he erected a platform around the Bodhi tree and poured milk over it, infused with sandalwood, saffron, camphor and perfume, from 5,000 gold, silver, crystal and tiger's-eye pitchers.

After the king's chief queen and mother of his beloved heir, Kunala, died, her spot was filled by Tishyarakshita - a Machiavellian anti-Buddhist, who had supposedly once tried to destroy the Bodhi tree. Either angered at Kunala for rejecting a sexual advance, or simply hoping to elevate her own son, she supposedly doctored one of the king's orders, having his heir blinded - while he was, in an all too predictable predicament, putting down a rebellion in Taxila. When Kunala clawed his way back to the capital, sans eyes, the chief minister had the queen killed, and her anti-Buddhist conspirators executed or banished to the desert. Ineligible, Kunala's son Samprati was named heir in his stead.

As Ashoka neared his seventies, and his health began to fail, he sustained himself by planning a

"Even amidst the glory of conquest, as he toured his new province, littered with corpses and ruins, the human toll shocked Ashoka to his core"

across the empire five times a year, making sure neither senior nor lower ranking officials were abusing their posts. When Ashoka's own brother was caught taking liberties with his vice-regency, he was forced to resign, and become a Buddhist hermit. Ashoka also had various officials and employees on the payroll, collecting taxes from peasants, artisans and merchants, and holding lawbreakers to account. He was firm but fair; not only abolishing the death penalty, but offering amnesty on his birthday and the anniversary of his coronation, releasing certain prisoners.

In 254 BCE, the king sent a minister to mediate a dispute between Buddhists and the Nirgrantha, a sect of Jain ascetics who refused to even wear clothes. When the minister was killed, Ashoka called together the Third Buddhist Council at his capital of Pataliputra, to streamline the various Buddhist sects and codify what was considered doctrinally correct. He then began a widespread programme of proselytising - sending monks across the region, bearing the accepted doctrine.

As he grew older, Ashoka became increasingly dedicated to the Sangha, the Buddhist community. He was said to have built 84,000 stupas and monasteries across the realm, one for each of the Buddhist discourses. Rather than mud and plaster, they were built to last - of brick and stone. He supposedly gifted 100,000 gold pieces to every monastery, another 100,000 to the site of

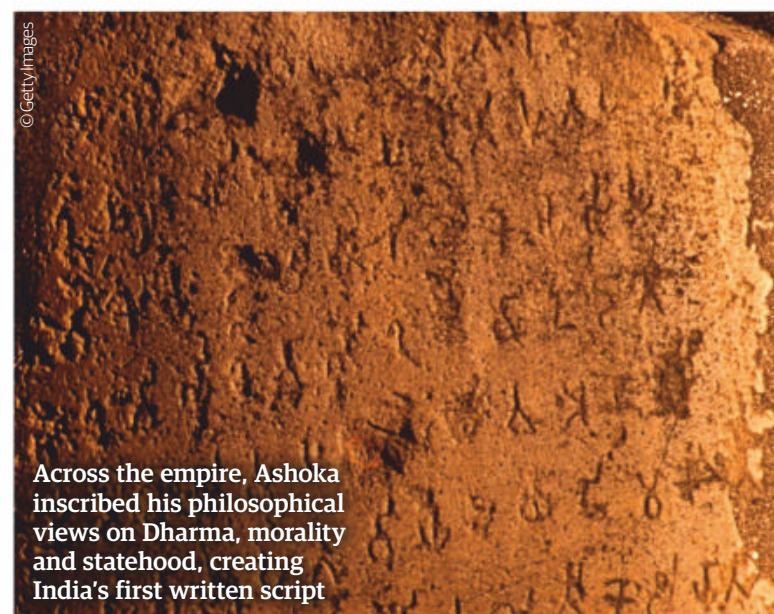
second Pancavarsika festival, one that would far surpass the first - spending 400,000 gold pieces entertaining 400,000 monks, and even more for his Ashokarama monastic centre. However, decades of philanthropic spending had virtually bankrupted the empire, and the king's ministers leaned on the young Samprati - who told the treasury to reject Ashoka's request. Denied his dying wish, to donate all his remaining worldly goods to the Buddhist community, Ashoka slipped away from rulership, allowing Samprati to act in his name - before dying in 233 BCE.

The king's death would be followed by another troubled succession, with a line of short-reigning kings ushering in the dynasty's demise, and the return of Brahmanism just half a century later. Though Buddhism would eventually fade from the subcontinent, it informed the future Hindu faith, with Buddha serving as one of Vishnu's avatars. It would also find fertile ground in Sri Lanka, Nepal, Tibet, China and beyond. Of the two symbols that adorned Ashoka's Pillar Edicts, the Bodhi tree and the Wheel of the Moral Law, the latter has been immortalised on the modern Indian flag.

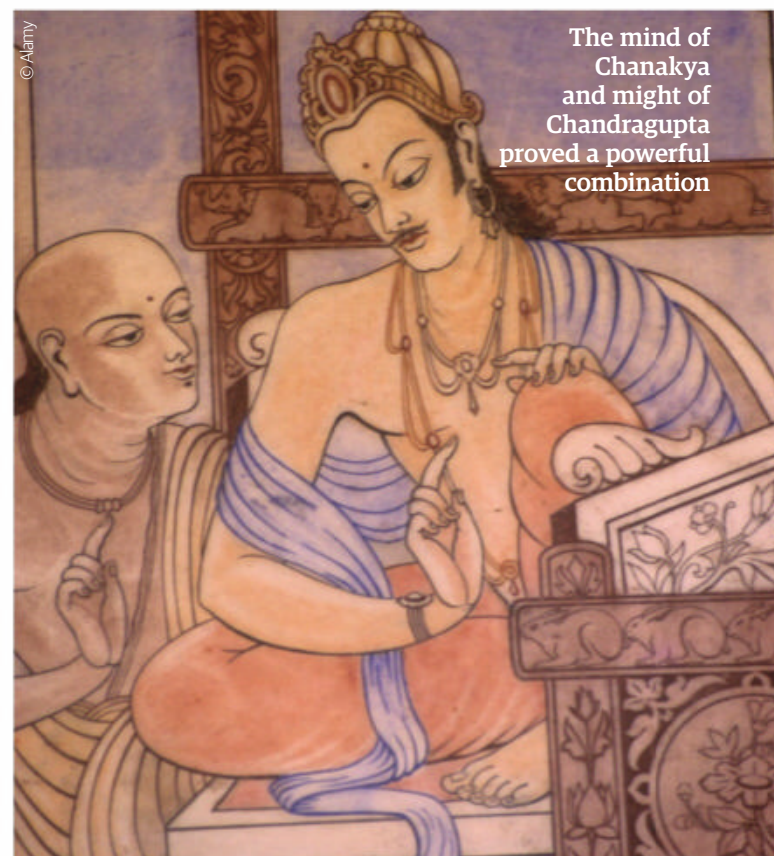
It is a fitting tribute to a man, who not only presided over the largest ever Indian empire for three decades, but transformed a minor sect into a major world religion, successfully demonstrating an entirely new model of leadership - one based not on conquest, but universal welfare.



Ashoka ruled the Indian subcontinent from c268 to 232 BCE



Across the empire, Ashoka inscribed his philosophical views on Dharma, morality and statehood, creating India's first written script



The mind of Chanakya and might of Chandragupta proved a powerful combination

The Wide Reach of Civilisation

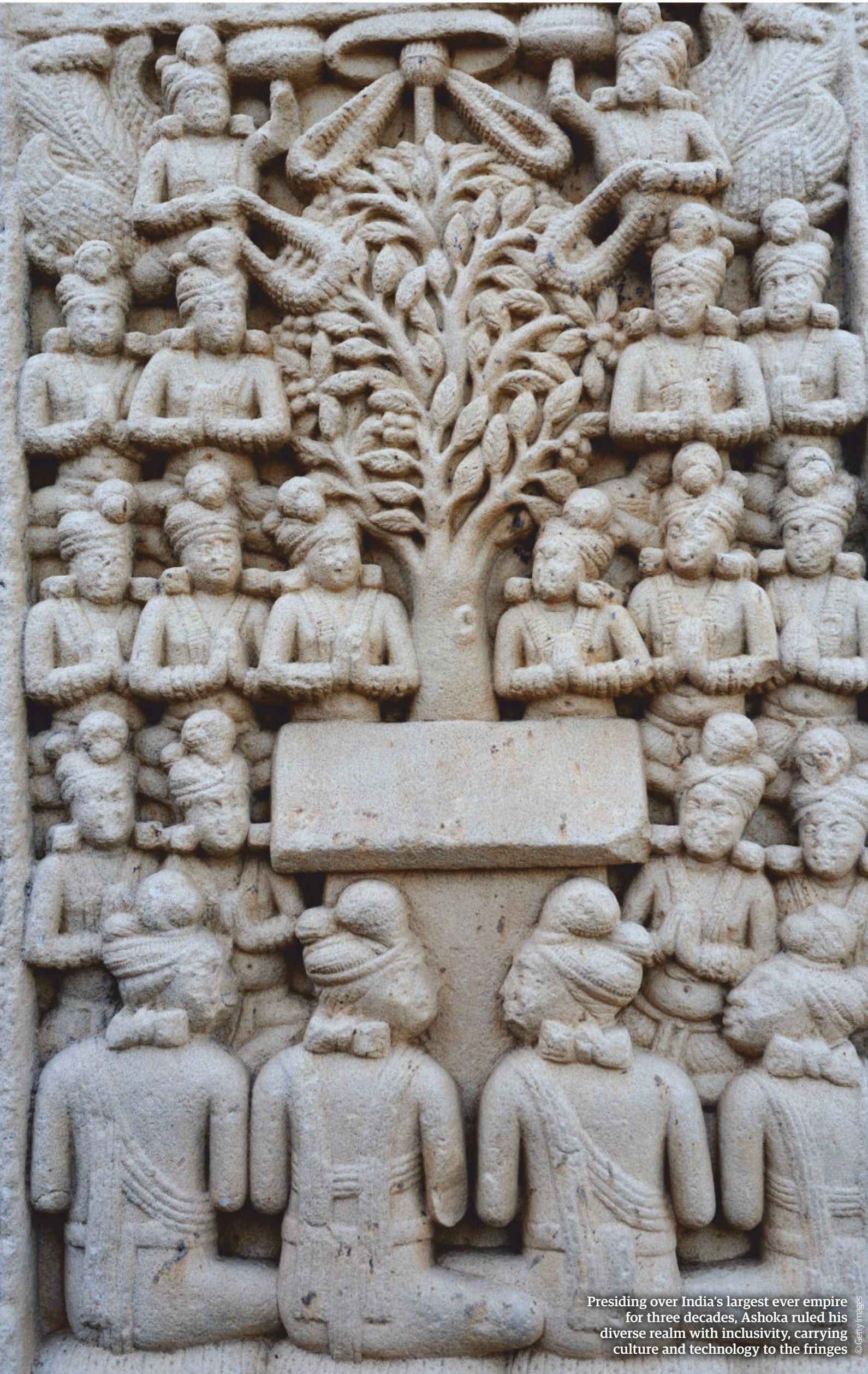
Ashoka's philanthropy blossomed across the fringes of the empire, rolling out remarkable developments

Set along the Ganges, the Maurya capital of Pataliputra was one of the largest cities in the world, perhaps even larger than Rome, brimming with palaces, factories, shipyards, gardens and temples - all enclosed within enormous walls, with 570 towers and 64 gates.

However, the empire proper was enormous, spanning an incredible array of cultures and landscapes - most of it far less sophisticated than the capital. With large swathes covered in dense forest, littered with backwater villages, one of the king's most influential moves was his introduction of Dharma mahamatras, or superintendents of morals. This new breed of officers were tasked with rolling out the king's vision of Dharma on the ground, maintaining peace between the sects, digging wells, running hospitals and building shade alongside the road.

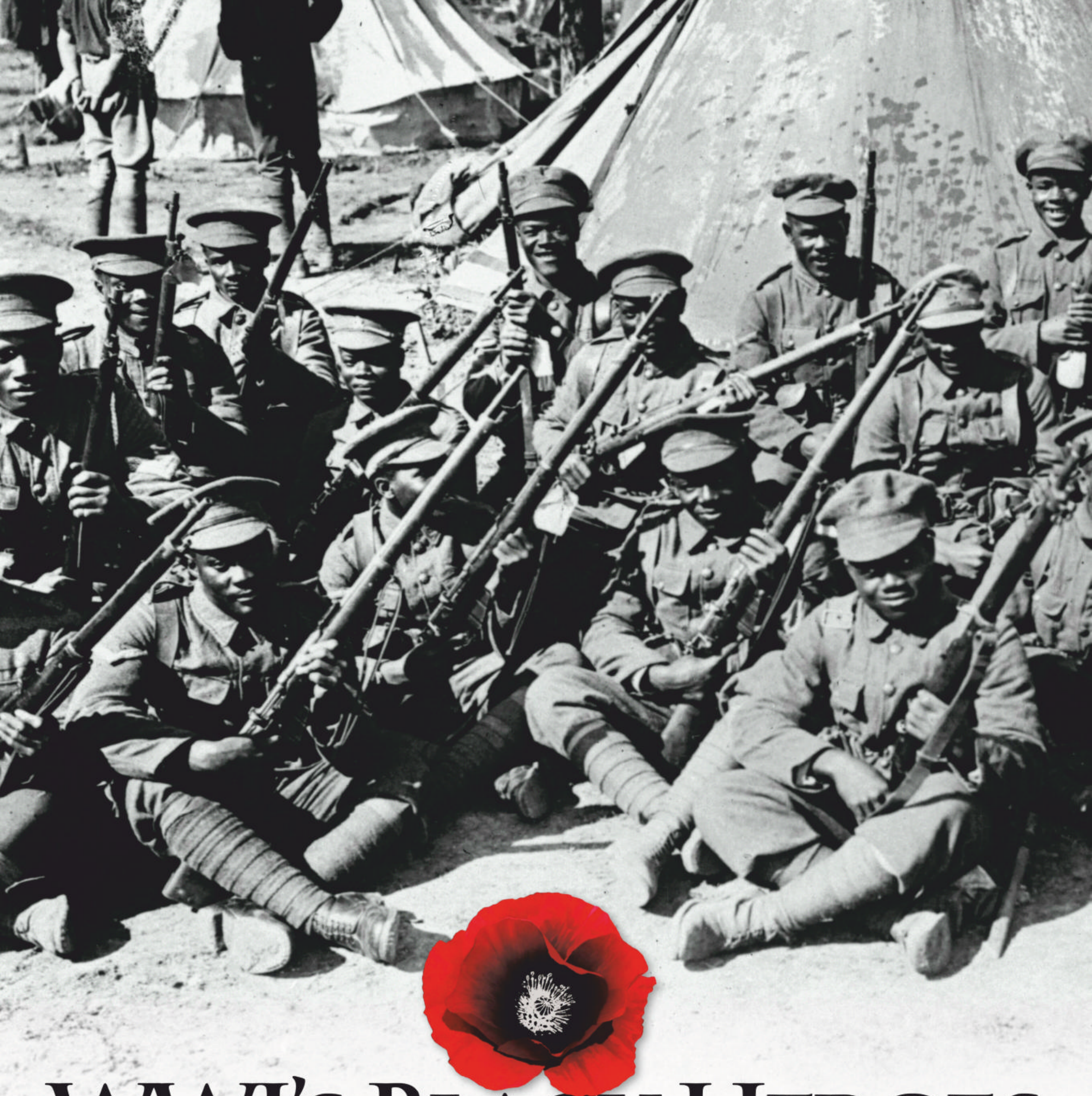
They were sent to the furthest reaches of the empire, teaching the tribes about Dharma, and bringing with them the high culture and technology of the Gangetic Basin, the heart of Maurya power. In the process, the peasants were 'civilised', brought into the fold of tax-paying society, with a respect for royal authority and Ashoka's monks, officers and priests. The king claimed that through his efforts, many hunters and fishermen were converted to agriculturists.

Before long, black-polished pottery, writing, iron tools and spoked wheels were carried to the distant provinces. Burnt bricks would emerge for the first time in northeast India, a material that could withstand heavy rain, and therefore allow settlements to be built where mud shacks previously could not. Ring wells, meanwhile, allowed people to live further and further from the river banks. Having communicated his philosophies to the rulers of Greece, Egypt, Turkey and Sri Lanka, the king even offered medical support to neighbouring countries.



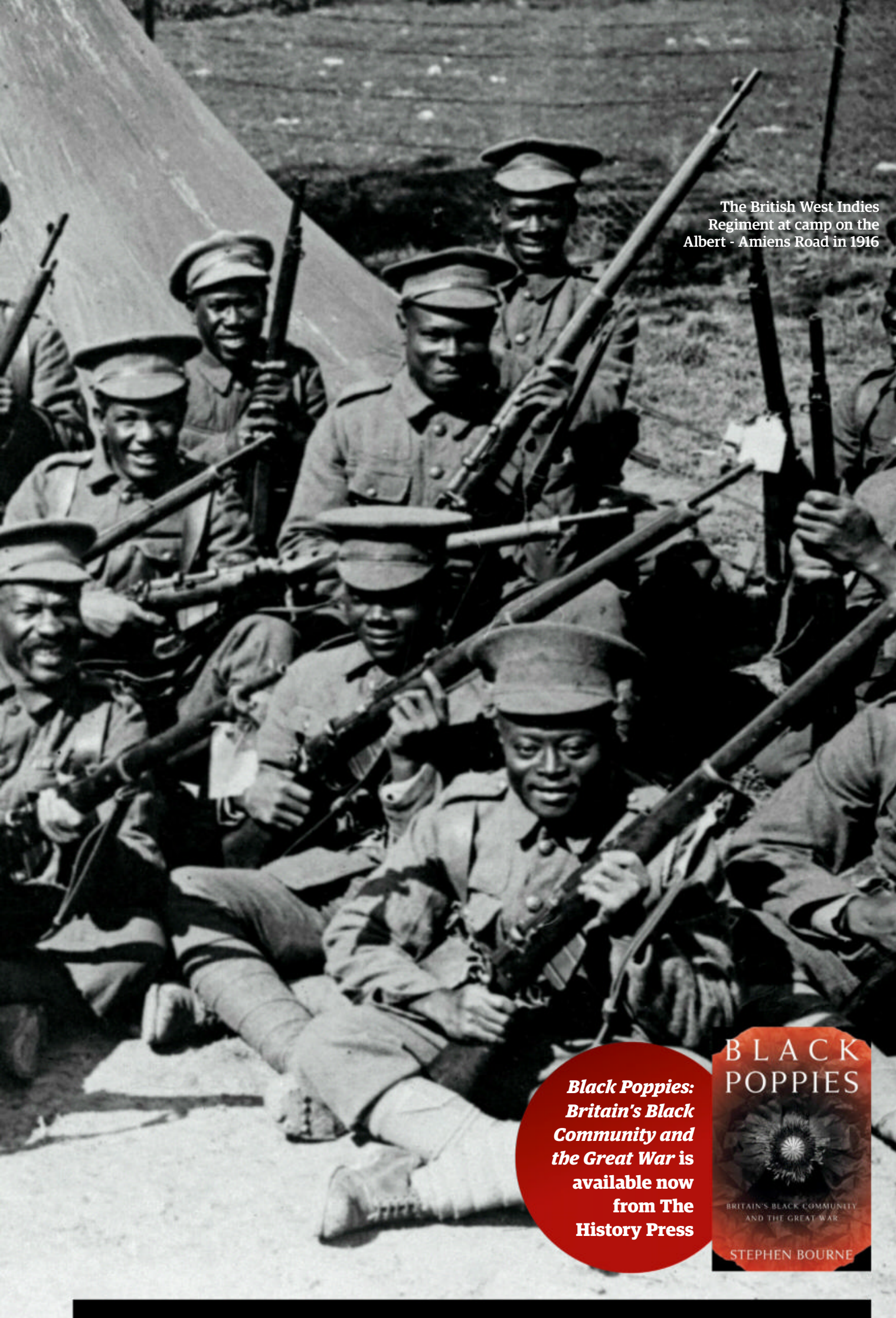
Presiding over India's largest ever empire for three decades, Ashoka ruled his diverse realm with inclusivity, carrying culture and technology to the fringes

© Getty Images



WWI'S BLACK HEROES REMEMBERED

Written by Jonathan Gordon



Author of Black Poppies, Stephen Bourne, talks to us about the different experiences of British soldiers of African and Caribbean heritage in the Great War and the incredible lives he has been trying to rediscover

The process of reassessing and reevaluating history is an ongoing and rigorous one. It's one of the many reasons why a study of history can be so rewarding; a surprise can often be waiting for you in a place you thought well explored. In recent years, the process of peeling away centuries of prejudice to reveal the blind spot of historical records as regards black and minority ethnic figures in Western history has been a particular focus for historians.

One such writer is Stephen Bourne, author of a number of books on the black British experience including *Mother Country: Britain's Black Community on the Home Front 1939-45* (The History Press), *War to Windrush: Black Women in Britain 1939-1948* (Jacaranda Books), and *Black Poppies: Britain's Black Community and the Great War* (The History Press) about which we wanted to talk to him about this issue. While images of the First World War clearly show black Britons fighting alongside white, like many others he noticed a distinct lack of context or detail about these men in books about the war. In some instances, the contributions of black and minority ethnic peoples had been seemingly erased from the record.

With this in mind we wanted to chat with Stephen Bourne about the stories in his book, the lives he has helped to uncover and the hard work of finding details about people who history has left behind. It's just one area in which a modern perspective is bringing to light lost history, bringing a lot of exciting and challenging new assessments of what some might think are settled questions.

Why was the British military not segregated like the US military was for so many years?

Unlike the US military, we didn't have an official reason to do so. Page 471 of the Manual of Military Law (1914) stated that 'any negro or person of colour, although an alien, may voluntarily enlist' and when serving would be 'deemed to be entitled to all the privileges of a natural-born British subject'. However, although they were prohibited from being promoted to commissioned rank, there were occasions when soldiers of African heritage, such as David Clemetson and Walter Tull, were commissioned. Unlike the US military, we did not require the ethnicity of servicemen to be recorded in their recruitment papers. With the rush to join up in 1914, British-born black men from all over the country and all walks of life and class backgrounds volunteered at army recruitment centres. It is true that some of them faced discrimination, and were turned away, but not all of them.

Presumably the collective experience of war helped to form bonds of friendship across racial lines where previously there might have been prejudice in the way?

It is also true that those who were recruited shared comradeship with white soldiers on the front-line,



African-American soldiers on their way home from Europe each wearing the Croix de Guerre (Cross of War) of France for their bravery in battle

especially the 'Tommies'. This is made clear in *Black Poppies* in the stories of Norman Manley, Harold Brown, Albert James, Arthur Roberts (whose First World War diaries were rediscovered after he had passed away in 1982), George A. Roberts and others. Some - although still very few - rose through the ranks, but virulent racism was more likely to be found amongst the white elite, as explained by Norman Manley. He was promoted to corporal, but then he asked to be demoted when he was unable to cope with the racist attitudes he had encountered. On the other hand, Walter Tull rose through the ranks apparently unscathed and, when he was killed in action in 1918, three of his comrades risked their lives - under enemy fire - to retrieve his body. That says a great deal about the comradeship that existed between black and white soldiers on the battlefields.

Would a unit like the British West Indies Regiment have had a different experience?

It could be argued that the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR), raised in 1915 as a separate black unit within the British army, was an attempt to 'segregate' black and white soldiers. But it actually existed to accommodate the thousands of men in Guyana and the Caribbean who wanted to support their 'Mother Country'



during wartime. The BWIR was raised against the wishes of Lord Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War, but was ultimately done so with the encouragement of the Colonial Office and King George V. By the war's end in November, the BWIR had registered 15,204 men and had rejected 13,940. Of the total accepted, 10,280 (66 per cent) came from Jamaica.

Despite there being no segregation, presumably there was no shortage of prejudice to overcome?

There was prejudice, but perhaps less than we expect between black and white comrades in British regiments. After all, they were at war, fighting a common enemy. However, there were concerns from the powers that be in the military that, if a black soldier was given a gun, he could be a source of danger to his white comrades, and not the enemy. It was felt that their colour would make them conspicuous on the battlefields. There were many exceptions, like Walter Tull [who earned promotions]. In spite of this, black Britons, as well as men from the Caribbean and West African colonies, came forward and joined up. Some of them hoped that by supporting the British in wartime, their countries would be de-colonised after the war. They hoped that, by showing they were as good as their white comrades, they would strengthen the case for independence for their homelands but they had to fight in another world war before this happened.

The worst case of racism I read about (and I have included this in the book) was the deliberate segregation of 8,000 members of the British West Indies Regiment after the war had ended. They were transferred to a military camp in Taranto, Italy but they waited for over a year to be demobbed. They were treated appallingly by



A moment of levity is found during a gas mask drill

2x © Getty Images



“HE WAS PROMOTED TO CORPORAL, BUT THEN HE ASKED TO BE DEMOTED WHEN HE WAS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE RACIST ATTITUDES HE ENCOUNTERED”

the British military and the situation escalated in December, 1918 when they were ordered to wash the dirty linen of the white British soldiers and Italian labourers. When they were ordered to clean the latrines as well, they flatly refused. A rebellion followed and many of them were court-martialled. The members of the BWIR in Taranto were virtual prisoners for almost a year after the Armistice.

What were the greatest challenges in telling the stories of black British soldiers in WWI?

I am not a military historian but I refused to allow my lack of knowledge of that aspect of

the First World War to deter me. However, the greatest challenge for me was the lack of information available. Historians of the First World War - and there are many - have systematically failed to acknowledge the contribution of black servicemen to the conflict. Some of them argued that the numbers were so small that their contribution was not worth considering. When I began writing *Black Poppies*, some of the information was fragmentary and conflicted. Trying to unravel the truth was a painstaking task. It was the most difficult and challenging book I have ever written.

A GLOBAL WAR

Many nations contributed combat forces and support to the Allied war effort

INDIA



Of the estimated 4 million men of non-white heritage who were mobilised during the First World War, the largest proportion came from India, totalling 1.5 million by the end of the war. They served across the many fronts of the conflict, in Europe, Africa and the Middle East.

CHINA



Although neutral at the start of the war, China heeded the call from Britain and France for additional labour support in Europe and would ultimately declare war on Germany and Austro-Hungary in 1917. The Chinese Labour Corps contributed 140,000 men for manual labour and support work.

FRENCH AFRICA



Britain, France and Germany each drew from their imperial colonies for support during the war. France drew especially from the African continent with men from French West Africa, Algeria, Tunisia, Madagascar and Somalia all mobilised, some of whom would go on to fight in Europe right through the occupation of the Rhineland until 1930.

WEST INDIES



Formed of volunteers from the Caribbean, the British West Indies Regiment totalled around 15,000 men. Many joined hoping to break through prejudice barriers by proving their worth; however racial discrimination was still prevalent, as evidenced by their treatment after the armistice that led to the Taranto revolt in 1918.

THE DOMINIONS



A total of 1.3 million additional men came from the dominions of Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland to contribute to the British war effort. They fought across the many fronts of the war, including on the Western front and alongside soldiers from across the rest of the British Empire.



THE LIFE OF WALTER TULL



A brief overview of one of the most famous mixed-heritage soldiers in WWI

1888 Born 28 April to Daniel Tull and Alice Elizabeth Palmer in Folkestone, Kent. Alice was from Kent originally, while Daniel was born in Barbados. Walter Tull's paternal grandfather had been a slave.

1895 At age seven, Tull loses his mother Alice to cancer.

1897 Just two years after his mother, Tull's father Daniel also passes away, from heart disease, at which point Tull is sent to an orphanage in Bethnal Green, London.

1908 Now aged 20, Tull is spotted playing football by officials from Clapton FC, an amateur football club, and is signed up. At Clapton he wins the FA Amateur Cup, London County Amateur Cup and the London Senior Cup, reportedly never losing a game.

1909 Walter Tull signs a professional contract with Football League First Division side Tottenham Hotspur, impressing in an off-season tour of Argentina and Uruguay before playing 10 times and scoring twice in the league. He was only the third mixed-heritage professional player in the league. However, he is dropped to the reserves later in the season.

1911 Tull signs for Southern Football League side Northampton Town where he will play 111 games over the next three years to great acclaim.

1914 At the outbreak of the First World War, Walter Tull enlists in the British Army, the first member of his football team to do so. He serves in the Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) 17th and 23rd – sometimes known as the Football Battalions since so many players were deployed there – and the 5th Battalion.

1916 Tull fights in the Battle of the Somme and, having survived, begins training to become an officer.

1917 Tull is promoted to Second Lieutenant, seemingly in contradiction to the racially prejudicial rules of the time that prohibited men of non-European heritage from having authority over white troops. He goes on to fight on the Italian front with the 23rd Battalion.

1918 Walter Tull is killed in action near Favreuil during the First Battle of Bapaume as the German's began their Spring Offensive. Despite the efforts of his comrades who were caught under heavy fire, his body was never recovered.





Two Senegalese soldiers who served in the French Army in the Western Front, pictured in June 1917



American military units in WWI were segregated, but soldiers found new freedoms on the front

2x © Getty Images

“TRYING TO UNRAVEL THE TRUTH WAS A PAINSTAKING TASK. IT WAS THE MOST DIFFICULT AND CHALLENGING BOOK I HAVE EVER WRITTEN”

What sorts of records and sources were you able to rely on?

For *Black Poppies* I relied on the work of historians like Ray Costello, who specialises in the history of Liverpool's black community; Professor David Killingray, who has expert knowledge of Africans who served in the British army; and Jeffrey Green, who provided me with his research on the British West Indies Regiment. They had written about different aspects of the story in their books and articles and they were very supportive and generous with their time and expertise. Green is also knowledgeable about other aspects of Britain's black community, including the founding of the influential African Progress Union in London in 1918. I wrote *Black Poppies* before David Olusoga's *The World's War - Forgotten Soldiers of Empire*, so I didn't have access to his work.

I left school educationally disadvantaged. I did not go to university. I have never studied history. I taught myself how to use archives, such as the National Archives, Imperial War Museum, National Army Museum, Black Cultural Archives and the British Library. When I started writing history books in 1991, my approach was simple. Search for and

collect first-hand testimony from the people who made history. So, first-hand testimony has been an important feature of all my history books whether it be from living relatives, letters or other sources.

How did you go about finding first hand accounts from the First World War?

It was difficult to find it for *Black Poppies* but Tony T. and Rebecca Goldstone generously gave me permission to quote from the interviews they conducted in the 1980s with survivors of the British West Indies Regiment. These First World War veterans were elderly then, living in retirement across the Caribbean, but their memories of being in the conflict were clear. I also found Norman Manley's published memories of his First World War experiences in a 1973 edition of *Jamaica Journal*. My motto is: 'Seek and you will find.' Occasionally I am approached with information. A member of the Manley family read the first edition of *Black Poppies* and he asked to meet me. He showed me Norman Manley and his siblings' First World War correspondence detailing the trials, tribulations and triumphs of life on the battlefields. He later granted permission for

me to publish the letters in the new edition of *Black Poppies*. However, I have to mention that research for my books is sometimes restricted because there is no funding available for historians like myself who work outside of academia. This prevents me from applying for research grants from funding bodies like the British Academy or Arts and Humanities Research Council. The Arts Council of England stopped funding history research some years ago and I have been turned down for PhD funding four times for black British history projects.

Walter Tull is a name many of our readers might recognise and you spend some time discussing in the book. Why was he important?

Walter Tull's story is important because we have a lot of information about his life both as a football hero, and as a soldier who successfully rose through the ranks. Photographs too. Perhaps he was more acceptable to his white comrades because of his success as a sportsman? Nevertheless, he is an inspiring British historical figure - but the British school curriculum needs to ensure he has a place in history lessons alongside the lives of the African American icons they teach, such as Dr Martin Luther King.

Why did you also choose to cover the stories of non-combatants during the war, like the conscientious objector Isaac Hall and the connected families of those at war?

It was important to me to offer a wide range of black British lives in the First World War. This is why I included black women and children on the home front, and the conscientious objector Isaac Hall. I aimed to give a fully rounded picture.



© Alamy

The American 369th Infantry pictured having returned home from France in 1919

How has touring and giving talks on *Black Poppies* changed or evolved your understanding of these stories?

Since 2014 I have given many talks on *Black Poppies* and the reaction to the stories I tell has been astounding. I have had nothing but praise, especially in the black community, for cracking open the subject. My understanding of the subject has grown, hence the publication of the new edition, and I make a point of informing people that, in my personal view, racism existed in British history but not all white people were racists, and not all black people saw themselves as victims.

This is a concept you mention in the intro to your book. How important do you think that lesson is for readers of *Black Poppies*?

It is vitally important for historians to question and challenge what they read. If I hadn't done this, I would have ended up stuck in the 1980s. I would have believed what I was told back then by activists, that in the history of our country, with the existence of the British Empire and colonialism, all white British people were racists and all black people were victims of racism. When I give the *Black Poppies* talk to young black people, they are upset by the racist incidents and attitudes I include in the book, but at the same time they are inspired and empowered by the stories of black



“RACISM EXISTED IN BRITISH HISTORY BUT NOT ALL WHITE PEOPLE WERE RACISTS, AND NOT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SAW THEMSELVES AS VICTIMS”

servicemen's comradeship with white servicemen, their heroism on the battlefields, and their ability to overcome adversity.

With the new access and public talks, does *Black Poppies* feel more like a living project in your life at this point?

Black Poppies has been a living project in my life since I signed the publishing contract with The History Press. It has been my most popular and successful black British history book. Whenever I visit the Imperial War Museum in London, the bookshop staff, who know me, always tell me that since 2014 *Black Poppies* has been their most popular title. Hard to believe, but true, considering the book was ignored by the media including

many broadsheets and the BBC during the centenary period.

It's a book full of inspiring people, tales of heroism and tragedy. Are there any that particularly stand out to you?

They are all extraordinary people, but I shall never forget the emotional impact of uncovering the life - and death - of Herbert Morris, the Jamaican lad who was shot at dawn for desertion. I am also fascinated by Mabel Mercer, the British-born singer who entertained the troops during the war, and went on to become, from the 1940s, the most influential cabaret singer in the United States. Frank Sinatra once said he learned everything he needed to know about phrasing from Mabel.

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The Bizarre History of
Royal
Etiquette

From wearing certain colours to shaving, discover ten rules of royal etiquette that will leave you scratching your head

Written by Jessica Leggett

Over the past two years, royal etiquette has been a popular topic as consequence of the Duke and Duchess of Sussex's engagement and the birth of their son, Archie. The world's press watched closely as Meghan adjusted to her new life in the British royal family, along with the protocol that comes with it - but why is it so important?

For centuries royal etiquette has been a formality implemented for ceremonial matters and seen as an indicator of social status. Over time it became a way to maintain order in the increasingly complicated courts of Europe. With its roots grounded in medieval chivalry, etiquette took a more humanist approach during the early modern period, with education and athletic ability among the attributes expected of the perfect

courtier, all the while enforcing ideal behaviour. For many courtiers, sticking to court etiquette offered a chance to climb the social ladder and potentially earn favour with the monarch, while failure to adhere to the rules left them at risk of losing their coveted positions. Although many aspects of strange royal etiquette have persevered to this day, there were also some that were so outlandish they were ridiculed in their own time!

Some of Queen Victoria's guests barely ate a morsel

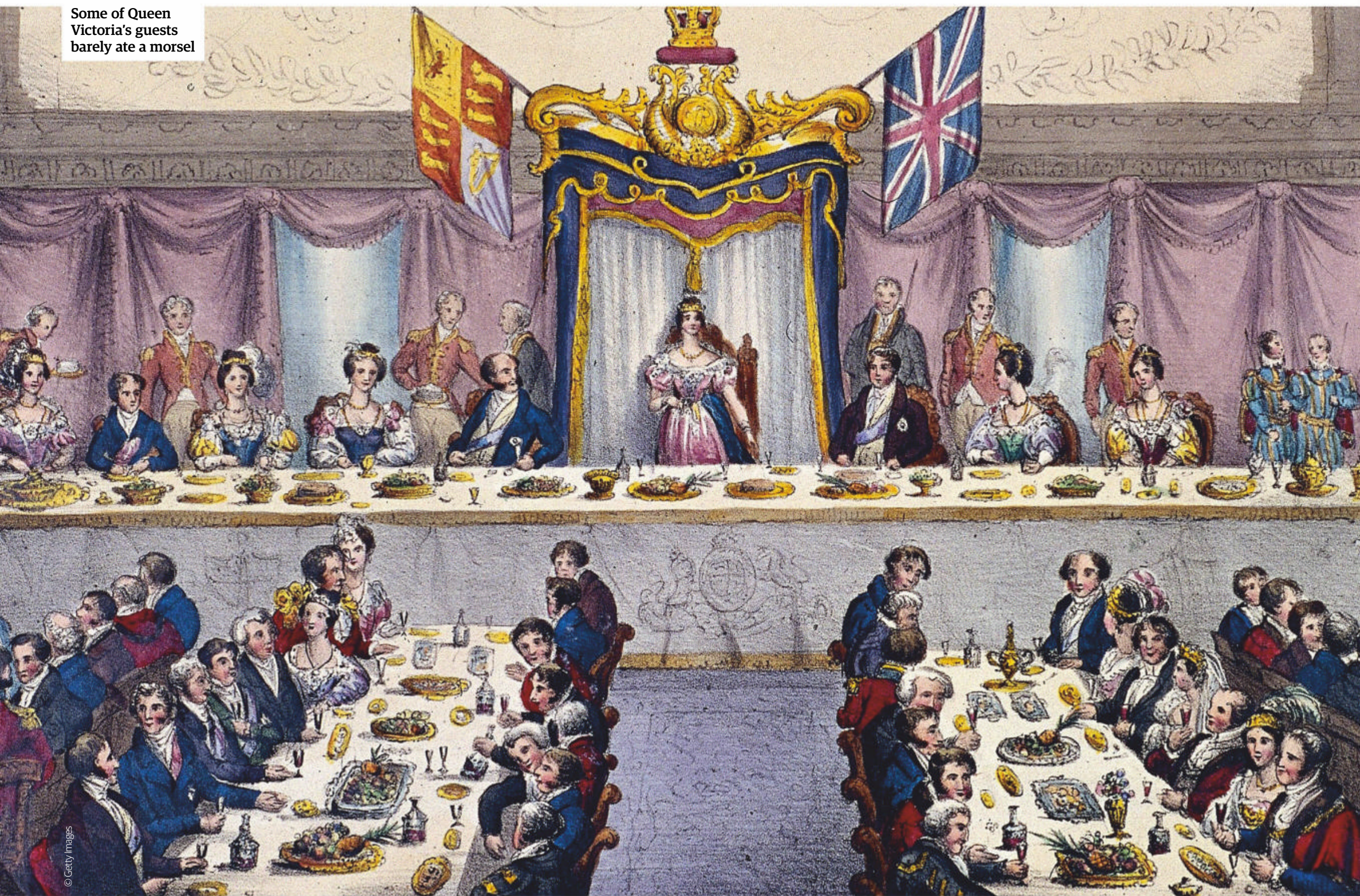


Table manners

Wolf your food down! Britain, 19th Century to present

It is true that when Queen Elizabeth II has finished eating, so does everybody else, as their plates are cleared whether they are done with their meal or not. This is a piece of British royal etiquette that has been passed down for generations and was a notable issue for those who dined with Queen Victoria, a famously quick eater. During her reign, Victoria moved away from the

self-service style of dining and adopted the à la russe method, where several courses of food were served to the table sequentially.

Traditionally royal banquets would have lasted hours, but with her voracious appetite, Victoria could eat seven courses in just half an hour! Consequently, there were some people who were barely able to eat anything, especially if they

were served last, because their plate would be taken away just as they were about to start. Victoria took dining etiquette seriously, and it is commonly claimed that she uttered the famous phrase 'we are not amused' when a equerry broke it by telling a risqué joke at the table, although it is debated whether she actually said it at all.



Show some enthusiasm!

Fail to clap at your own peril
Roman Empire, 64AD

The myth that Emperor Nero 'fiddled while Rome burned' has persisted for centuries, contributing to his reputation as one of the most tyrannical and despised rulers to have ever lived. Although there is no truth to this tale, it was so believable due to the fact that Nero loved both music and poetry. He had always wanted to play the lyre and perform his poems in public, but he had been discouraged by his mother, Agrippina, and his tutor, Seneca, who considered it to be scandalous behaviour for a Roman noble. However, after the deaths of his mother and Octavia, his wife, and with the resignation of Seneca, the emperor was free at last to hold the concert he had always wanted.

Forcing his senators and citizens to attend his lengthy performances, Nero's spies scanned the audience to ensure that every single person was applauding, and if anyone was seen looking bored, it would be reported back to the emperor. Nobody was allowed to leave the concert, with expectant mothers even giving birth in the audience, while other brave people tried to escape. Deluding himself into believing that his concert was a huge hit, Nero repeated his performances every day until they were finally ended after the amphitheatre collapsed following an earthquake.

Dress to impress

Regulations were all the rage
Global, various eras

For centuries, fashion has been used by rulers all over the world as a political instrument and as a means to distinguish the social classes. Dress was considered so important that numerous monarchs introduced sumptuary laws to restrict the materials, colours and style of dress that courtiers could and could not wear. For example, King Francis I of France issued a law in 1543 that nobody aside from himself and his children could wear clothes made from either cloth of gold or silver, and King Henry VIII issued four 'Acts of Apparel' during his reign, all designed to regulate clothing and material in relation to social status - Queen Elizabeth I went as far as to ban anyone from copying her style of dress at all.

Laws regarding clothing date back even further, with only those born of royal blood allowed to wear purple in the Byzantine Empire. While these laws were typically difficult to enforce, breaking them meant that you could be removed from court and earn the monarch's disdain - particularly at a court like Versailles, where fashion was used by Louis XIV as a way to control the nobility.



Queen Elizabeth passed more sumptuary laws than anyone else



ШІ ЦЫРЮЛЬНИКЪ
ОРОДЫ СТРИІЗЪ НЕ
ВѢДІА НА
СКОРО КРУІЗКУ

ѢТЪ РАСКОЛНИКЪ
БОРОДЪ СТРИЗЪ

Enlightened etiquette

Even manners could not escape reform

Russia, 18th to 19th Century

As he travelled around the courts of Western Europe, Russian Tsar Peter the Great became exposed to a high standard of etiquette that influenced his own reforms to modernise Russia. He wrote and published *The Honest Mirror of Youth* in 1717, which laid out his instructions for the new etiquette that he expected from the elite. Women were encouraged to practice humility and respect, while 'every young man should rigorously keep himself from slander, sexual impropriety, gambling and drunkenness, and flee from these things' - which was interesting advice considering Peter had a reputation for debauched behaviour.

The book was pocket-sized so it could be carried at all times and it was reprinted several times, remaining popular until the end of the 19th century. The tsar even went as far as to introduce a beard tax, giving the police permission to forcibly shave those who refused to pay. He wanted his citizens to be beardless like the men he had encountered in the West - a decision that angered the Russian Orthodoxy Church, who believed that removing facial hair was equal to blasphemy.



Stringent standards

Know your place

Spain, 16th to 17th Century

The Spanish court was famed for its rigid etiquette under the Habsburgs, who ruled from 1516 to 1700. It dictated every aspect of court life and reinforced the hierarchy, which was determined depending on the level of the proximity or intimate access you had to the king.

Etiquette was to be upheld no matter what, which is why at the wedding of his daughter, Maria Theresa of Spain, to King Louis XIV of France in 1660, King Philip IV and his entourage wore black because he was in mourning, as upholding court protocol was more important than the occasion. The strict attitude of the Spanish was often ridiculed by other courts, and the death of King Philip III - who has gone down in history as an incompetent ruler - was mocked by claims that he had died from a fever he contracted due to overheating. Sat by a hot brazier, or a fireplace, depending on the version you read, the king grew too hot, but the attendant assigned to remove the brazier could not be found, and he refused to remove it himself because to do so was forbidden by court etiquette.

The art of respect

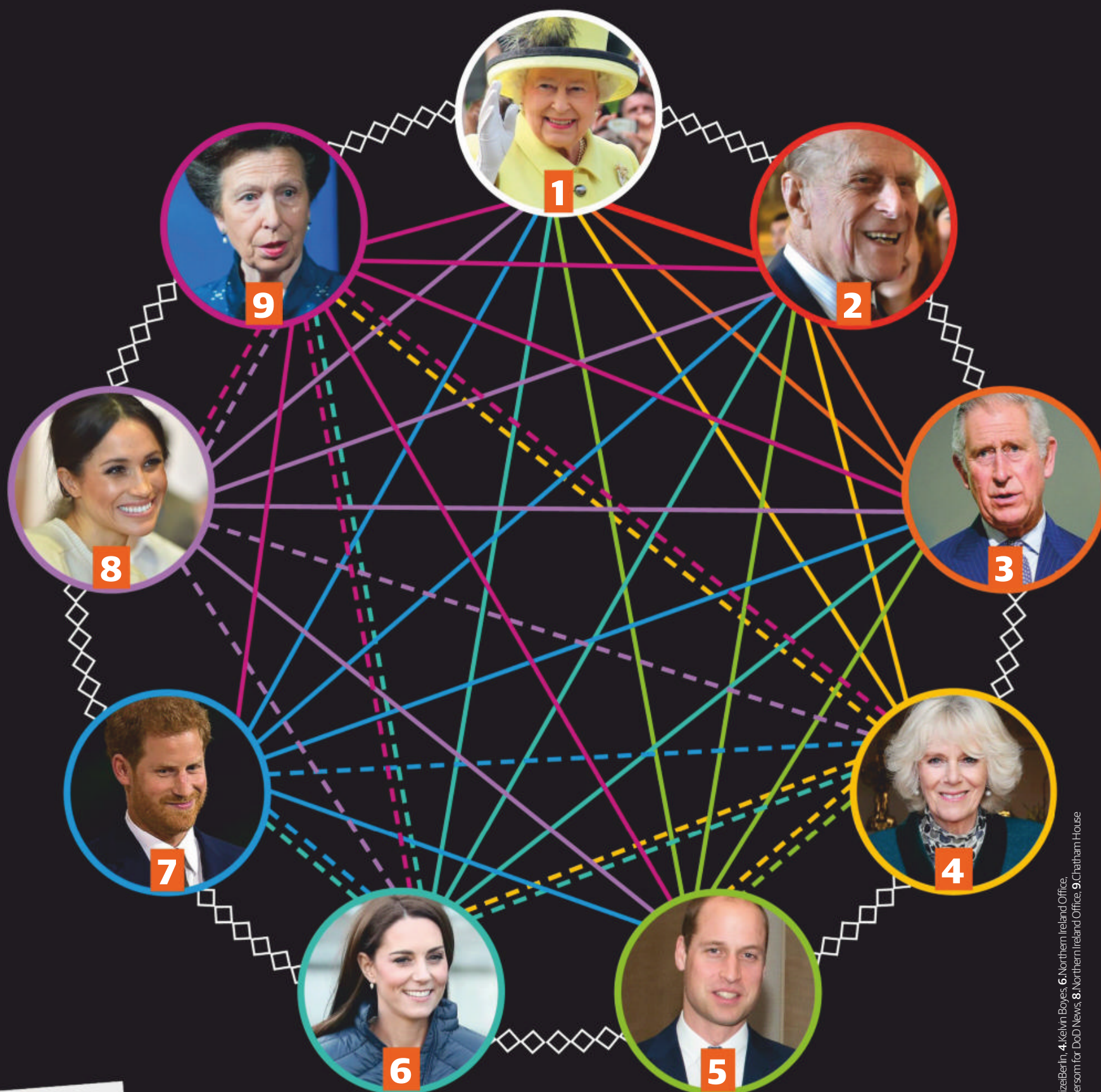
The question of who curtsies and who bows is a complex one in the British royal family

1. Queen Elizabeth II
2. Prince Philip
Duke of Edinburgh
3. Charles
Prince of Wales
4. Camilla
Duchess of Cornwall
5. Prince William
Duke of Cambridge
6. Catherine
Duchess of Cambridge
7. Prince Harry
Duke of Sussex
8. Meghan
Duchess of Sussex
9. Anne
Princess Royal

KEY:

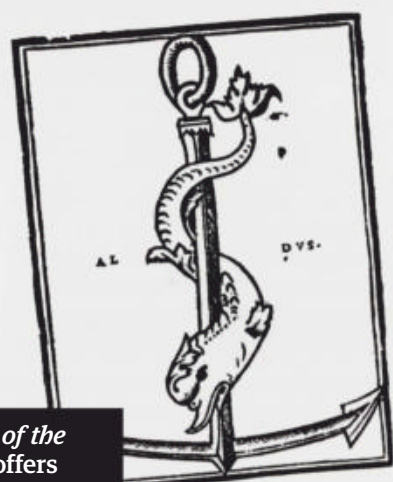
Must always bow/curtsy

Must bow/curtsy under certain circumstances



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The Book of the Courtier offers a glimpse into the world of the Renaissance court

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Manners maketh man

Court etiquette reached new heights

Europe, 16th Century

To master court etiquette in 16th century Europe was by no means an easy feat, but luckily for courtiers a new book, *The Book of the Courtier*, emerged to show them the way. Written and published by Italian courtier and diplomat Baldassare Castiglione in 1528, *The Book of the Courtier* was essentially a guide for both men and women on how to become the perfect courtier.

Among his advice for men, Castiglione claimed that they should be able to dance, leap, joust, swim and play tennis, while women should take care not

to be 'tedious and noisome' and wear appropriate clothing that 'best become' them - and of course, all men and women had to appear effortless in the process. The influential book quickly became popular, and Castiglione's work set new standards for etiquette across the courts of Europe. Two years later, Erasmus wrote his own popular etiquette guide for children, *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium*, in which he recommended that they should not fidget, scratch or yawn without a hand over their mouth, advice that would not be out of place today.

Excessive protocols

Bend the knee

Byzantine Empire, 330AD - 1453

Throughout history the court etiquette of the Byzantine Empire has been described as nothing short of degrading. Submission played a huge role in the process, with citizens expected to pay respect to the emperor by prostrating themselves before him - reportedly up to three times - and kissing his hands and feet before they even dared to speak.

People were also expected to bend down on one knee as another way to show respect, while prayers, gifts and incense were offered to statues of the emperor and to the throne, even if it was empty. In fact, etiquette at the Byzantine court was so complex that different treatises, such as *De Ceremoniis*, were published over time so that both citizens and foreigners could learn about the correct court and religious protocols before their arrival, lest they wish to incur the wrath of the emperor.



Keeping up with the Georgians

Navigating etiquette was not easy

Great Britain, 16th to 17th Century

The arrival of the Georgians marked a fresh start for Britain and for the royal court, with ambitious courtiers clamouring to gain the favour of the new ruling dynasty by adhering to strict etiquette. For example, women were expected to curtsy three times before they could leave the room, and they had to remain in an upright position at all times, although this was helped when they wore the stiff and impractical mantua dresses for formal ceremonies and gatherings.

As for men, they had to wear powdered wigs and attend court

equipped with a sword - if they did not have one, they could hire one at the door. In fact, etiquette was so rigid that nobody was allowed to leave the room to go to the toilet unless they had permission from the king or queen! King George II was known for being a meticulous monarch who enjoyed the pomp of royal ceremony, and he famously turned his back - also referred to as his 'rump' - to courtiers who had lost his favour. To console themselves, courtiers who had been 'rumped' by the king formed the Rumpsteak Club.

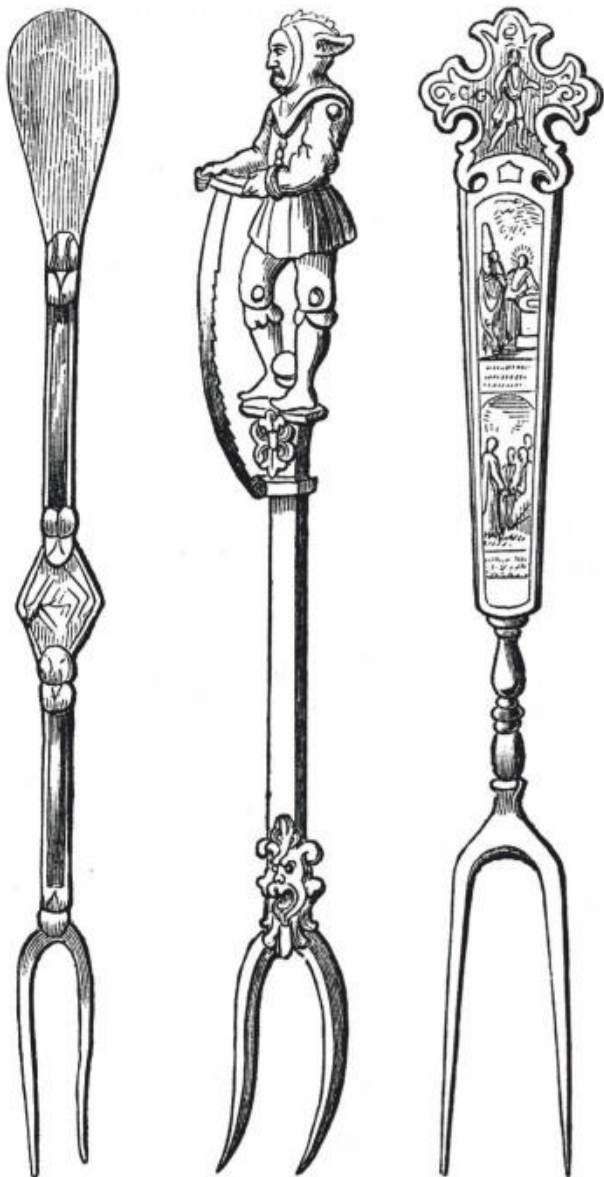


Controversial cutlery

Going against the grain

11th Century

Who knew that a fork could be so scandalous? While there are different versions of the story, the utensil was supposedly introduced to Europe by a Byzantine princess when she married the doge of Venice during the 11th century. Sitting down to eat, the princess opened a case containing her cutlery and produced a two-pronged fork to tuck into her meal, going against etiquette by refusing to eat with her hands like everyone else. This offended the Venetians, who considered her behaviour vain and fastidious, but the fork was soon adopted across Italy. Catherine de' Medici, who was Italian, famously introduced the fork to the French court after her wedding to the dauphin, the future King Henri II, in 1533, and she would later implement strict etiquette at the court during her time as regent, forcing members of rival factions to eat alongside one another at her table, using her eating methods and of course, the fork. However, it would take another seven decades for the fork to reach England, when it was brought over by Thomas Coryate in 1608 following his travels to France, Italy, Switzerland and Germany.



© Alamy

Forks were not widely used for centuries



Revolving around the sun

The king ensured all eyes were on him

France, 17th to 18th Century

After witnessing the Fronde rebellion that plagued his mother's regency during his minority, King Louis XIV became convinced that he needed to maintain control over the nobility so that they would never be able to revolt against him again. He renovated his father's old hunting lodge into the magnificent Palace of Versailles and moved his government and court there, where he could keep a watchful eye on them.

Proclaiming himself to be the Sun King, Louis ensured that the court revolved

around him by implementing strict etiquette that kept the nobility in line. For example, he transformed getting up and going to bed into daily public rituals known as the 'lever' and the 'coucher' respectively, which offered both the intimacy and the accessibility to the monarch that the nobility craved. In fact, they were so busy trying to earn the privilege to attend that the nobility had no time to revolt nor the money, as they bankrupted themselves trying to keep up with the latest fashion trends at court.



Louis' successors did not enjoy the public exposure at Versailles, much to the chagrin of the nobility

2x © Getty Images

The Emperor Valens
in the thick of the
fighting at Adrianople.



BATTLE OF ADRIANOPLE

MURTAÇALI, TURKEY, 9 AUGUST 378 CE

Written by Murray Dahm

Pressure from Hunnic conquests from the east and a civil war among Germanic tribes north of the Danube meant that in the late summer of 376 CE, the Gothic tribe of the Thervingi gathered on the borders of the Roman empire. Modern estimates suggest that 200,000 men, women and children assembled on the northern bank of the Danube under their leader, Fritigern, and asked for asylum within the Eastern Roman Empire.

Fritigern had converted to Arian Christianity (the same faith as the Roman emperor, Valens) and was therefore considered to have a 'special relationship' with the Emperor. Nonetheless, fierce debate followed within the Imperial court about the wisdom of allowing an entire Germanic tribe to enter Roman territory. After two months of waiting, the Goths were eventually allowed to cross the Danube and settle in the province of Thrace. One of the factors in their favour was that they had agreed to be recruited into the Roman army, thereby solving a manpower shortage. Valens also required that the Goths all convert to Arian Christianity. They did so, and the crossing began.



Most of our surviving ancient sources view this decision as catastrophic for the Roman Empire - which it was, but all wrote with the benefit of hindsight. In 376 CE there were good reasons to allow such large numbers to cross over and settle in Roman territory. Allowing the Thervingi in can be seen as the moment the fate (and fall) of the Western Roman Empire was sealed, even though it was how those settlers were subsequently treated and what happened as a result that led to a disastrous war for the Romans.

It seems as though far more people crossed the Danube than had been expected by the Romans. The local commander, Lupicinus (the 'comes rei militaris', or military count), did not have the resources to feed the newcomers, nor sufficient troops to control them. Winter was approaching and food was running short, the Thervingi themselves brought little with them (what they had was used up in the two-month wait to cross the Danube). Both Lupicinus and the other Roman commander, Maximus (who held the post of either dux Moesia or dux Scythiae, 'duke' of Moesia or Scythia), decided

to take advantage of the situation for personal profit and route the Goths. Treated poorly and starving, they quickly lost faith in Roman promises. Meanwhile, seeing the success of the Thervingi, other Gothic tribes also sought permission to cross the Danube into the Roman Empire. The Greuthungi weren't allowed the same privilege, but after learning that the local Roman troop numbers were preoccupied with supervising the Thervingi, they decided to make the journey anyway.

Fritigern's Thervingi were marched to Marcianople, some 60 kilometres south of the Danube and close to the eastern shore of the Black Sea. There, Lupicinus banned them from accessing the city's stores of food. This was the final straw, and the Thervingi clashed with Roman troops. Fritigern's guards were slaughtered, but he escaped and did nothing to quell the warlike temper of his men. Lupicinus summoned troops to him, but these were defeated by the numbers and fury of the Goths.

The rebellion spread, and the Goths - still in Thrace - had no Roman troops to oppose them. Emperor Valens was still focused on a Persian

campaign, and was based in Antioch. The Greuthungi now unified with the Thervingi, and other Gothic units already in the Roman army joined the revolt. Gothic slaves abandoned their masters and joined too. The combined Gothic forces moved on Constantinople, ravaging the 250 kilometres from Marcianople to the capital for food. The city was put under siege, but the Goths lacked the means to maintain it, and soon abandoned the endeavour. Messages were sent to Valens that a major campaign would be needed to deal with the Gothic threat. Valens sent word to his nephew and Western Roman Emperor, Gratian, for help. Despite fears that a denuded West would be tempting for barbarians to cross the Rhine, Gratian sent his commanders, Richomeres and Frigeridus.

The Goths split into various groups, although the largest remained under the command of Fritigern. Valens' commanders, Profuturus and Traianus, were sent from the east in summer 377 CE, and their troops were able to force the Goths to retire to the Haemus mountains. Another group (either separated or newly crossed) was in the north, however, near

Fritigern appears to have thoroughly outwitted Valens, his Roman counterpart



the town of Salices. Profuturus and Trajanus took the opportunity to confront this group separately, confident of eliminating them. They were also joined by the troops from the west under Frigeridus and Richomeres. Nonetheless, the Romans were outnumbered by the Goths but, forming into a testudo, the Romans withheld the Gothic attacks. Some sources declare that the battle was a Roman defeat, others a draw.

In early 378 CE, the Goths broke out of the Haemus mountains where they had been penned up. Other tribes crossed the Danube and joined them, notably a group of Huns and Alans. Several skirmishes and small conflicts followed, some by sections of different tribes. Valens, finally turned aside from his eastern campaign, marched his army west to face the Gothic threat. Gratian also led an army from the west. In high summer, Valens marched from Constantinople towards the Goths, positioned somewhere near the town of Adrianople.

At this point an envoy arrived from Fritigern, a presbyter and some humble folk, possibly monks, requesting Thrace as a new land for Goth settlement and promising peace. Various negotiations followed, which are usually looked on as Fritigern playing for time to allow him to summon all his troops to him. Time was not on Fritigern's side, however, and he must have known that Gratian was on his way with another army to reinforce Valens. It seems far more likely that Fritigern had another plan, and that his actions in sending multiple envoys were deliberate; the time he needed was a matter of hours rather than days. We are even told that Fritigern was full of trickery and pretence "all too skilled in craft and various forms of deception" (according to the historian Ammianus Marcellinus (our best source), and with his envoy he sent a private letter asking that Valens bring his army close to the Goths, ready for war, "to entice them to adopt conditions favourable to the Roman state" through fear of the

Roman army. Fritigern's forces had shown, however, that combined and equipped they had little to fear from the Roman forces they had seen up to that point. The Goths had taken better equipment from the Romans they had defeated. It seems more likely that Fritigern was luring Valens into a trap. One of Ammianus' criticisms of Valens character was that he was a procrastinator, and Fritigern had dealt with the emperor (in person) before, so knew who he was up against. The envoys were dismissed, and the Roman army prepared to march.

Valens' commanders debated whether to attack or wait for the arrival of Gratian. The Romans must have been confident of victory to attack alone, and may have been misled regarding the Goths' strength. Valens' skirmishers advised him that the Goths numbered only 10,000 warriors (but as the battle played out, many more previously concealed Goths emerged). On the morning of 9 August, the day had dawned hot, and Valens' army marched 'with extreme haste' from Adrianople towards the Goths, reaching the wagon circle at the eighth hour, or two in the afternoon. The fatigue of the march, and the fact the Romans were strung out on their line of march would have a part to play in the coming battle. The Gothic position was clearly deliberately chosen and carefully drawn up; Ammianus tells us that the wagons were arranged in a perfect circle, 'turned by the lathe.' The Romans moved into position on the right while the centre waited and the left was still deploying.

We are given more details of the Roman disposition than for any other battle of the period, although Ammianus warns his readers not to expect exact detail, and all our accounts are far from satisfactory. The Romans had cavalry on the right wing had drawn up, with the infantry some way behind them. The cavalry on the left wing, however, were still on the road.

At this point in his narrative, Ammianus mentions that Fritigern's cavalry under Althaeus and Saphrax was far away and, because of that, Fritigern sent more envoys. Most modern reconstructions of the battle state that the Gothic cavalry were away foraging, but this cannot have been the case. The



Valens decision to allow the Goths to cross the Danube proved to be costly

cavalry would soon make a decisive, massed, charge into the Roman flank and it is therefore highly unlikely they were away foraging. Fritigern's various tactics of playing for time are far more likely for him to have been waiting until he knew his cavalry were in position. They would charge in one body, not piecemeal as they returned from a foraging expedition, and this implies that the Gothic position was deliberately chosen. What's more, the terrain on the left of the Gothic position, a steep valley, would let the cavalry assemble unseen by the Romans.

Fritigern's first envoys were men of low rank, and Fritigern knew they would be rejected by the Romans. Ammianus talks of this 'pretended truce' to allow the cavalry to return. He adds that this wait also exposed the Romans to more summer heat, and that the Goths had lit fires to make things worse. These fires are intriguing, and are accepted by all reconstructions, even though the smoke from the fires would affect the Goths just as much as it would the Romans. These fires may have served another purpose, however; to signal the cavalry, to hide the cavalry's assembly, or lit by the cavalry themselves to hide their deployment and signal to Fritigern that they were in position.

Another low-ranking envoy was sent to the Romans to ask for hostages. This too seems to be Fritigern playing for yet more time. The request for hostages caused great debate at the tent of the emperor, but eventually Richomeres volunteered to go as a hostage. Before he could arrive at the enemy's laager, however, two units of cavalry of the Roman right flank, the Scutarii and Sagitarii, had engaged in skirmishing with the Goths, and this then escalated into the battle proper. It would seem that this skirmish was deliberately provoked by the Goths once the fires had been seen, and Fritigern knew that the Gothic cavalry were in position. The reason for thinking this is that once engaged, the Gothic cavalry charged from their unseen assembly point and crushed the Roman right flank. Ammianus' description makes it clear that these troops were not returning from foraging: "like a thunderbolt" they charged and threw into confusion the entire Roman flank.

This is not the arrival of groups of cavalry that had been away foraging, but part of a deliberate plan to deliver a massed cavalry charge into the enemy's flank. As such, Fritigern's delaying tactics, as well as his obviously careful selection and preparation of the Gothic position, were deliberate. We are told on several occasions how tricky and cunning Fritigern was, and yet no interpretation of the battle of Adrianople has suspected him of such cunning. Most accounts are very straightforward. Fritigern's plan was helped immensely by Valens' eagerness for battle and several other mistakes, such as not sending out proper scouts or ensuring accurate reconnaissance.

The remaining Roman troops now surged forward towards the Gothic wagon laager despite the fact that the cavalry of the Roman left wing were still on the road and had not deployed. The troops of

GOTHS

NUMBER OF INFANTRY

10,000-
20,000

NUMBER OF CAVALRY
AT LEAST

5,000



FRITIGERN

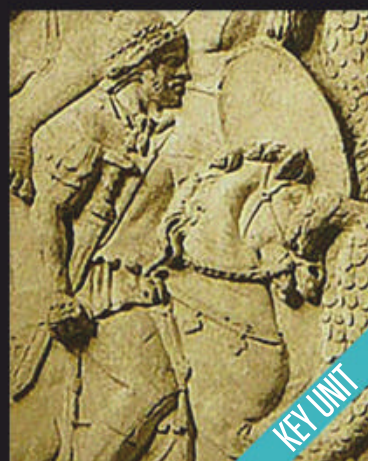
Fritigern emerges as the leader of a faction of Goths demanding to be settled within the Roman Empire in 376.

- Cunning and wily, he was a tactical and strategic genius
- The confederation of Gothic tribes was volatile and demanded success

ALAN CAVALRY

Fritigern's cavalry struck like lightning and destroyed the Roman flank, proving their fearsome ability.

- Well armoured, great stamina and endurance
- Prone to leadership squabbles and division



KONTOS

The Kontos was long two-handed spear used by cavalry, especially those of Iranian origin.

- Length and reach, power
- Two handed, rider vulnerable, excessive training



EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

NUMBER OF LEGIONARIES

4,800

NUMBER OF AUXILIARIES

4,800

NUMBER OF HORSE ARCHERS

2,500

NUMBER OF HEAVY CAVALRY

2,500



VALENS

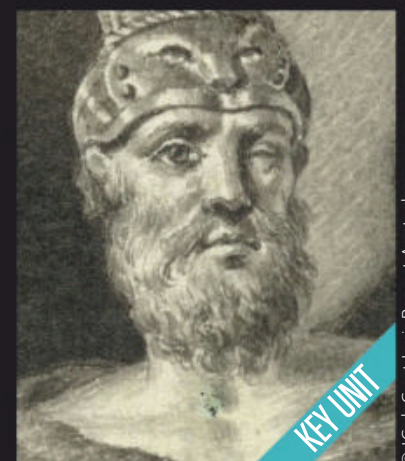
Valens became co-emperor of the Roman Empire with his brother, Valentinian I, in 364.

- The might of the Eastern Roman Empire at his disposal
- Vacillating and distracted by Persian campaign. Jealous of the west, so possibly wanted to win alone

BATAVII

The Batavii were a legionary unit in the late Roman army. They stood their ground at Adrianople.

- Heavily armed and protected, well trained
- Vulnerable on the flanks if unsupported



SPATHA

The spatha was a long, straight sword used by all forces, infantry and cavalry in every army in the late Roman period.

- Strong and versatile, it dominated design for centuries
- Unable to be wielded effectively in crowded formations



the Roman left wing actually reached the wagon laager, pushing the Goths back, but they had no support on their flank from any cavalry. It seems that the cavalry of the Roman left saw the way the battle was unfolding, and made no effort to engage, but abandoned the field. The remainder of the Roman force were therefore crowded together as they advanced. Ammianus describes the scene: 'So pressed upon by the superior numbers of the enemy, that they were overwhelmed and beaten down ... different companies became so huddled together that a soldier could hardly draw his sword, or withdraw his hand once he had stretched it out.'

More Gothic infantry then made a charge from their wagons (again something that had been deliberately planned by Fritigern, rather than some spontaneous movement), which broke the Romans. This charge suggests that Fritigern had more troops hidden within his laager and who swarmed over the engaged Romans.

On the right, the Roman cavalry fled, defeated. The historian Zosimus calls the battle an easy victory for the Goths (since the Romans were in disarray and overconfident) and a massacre. The Romans broke and fled to be pursued by Gothic troops. Several units did stand firm; realising the battle was lost and despising death, they decided to fight to the end. Even though their fate was sealed, they fought on. Ammianus names two of these legionary units, the Lancearii and the Mattiarii. It was to these that Valens, who had been deserted by his own guards unit, fled. The remaining units were cut down and few escaped. Only a moonless night brought an end to the killing.

In the aftermath, according to Ammianus and Libanius, Valens died from an arrow wound, and was never found. Another version of his demise is that he took refuge in a unwallled village or a peasant's cottage, which was then burned by the Goths. The level of the disaster of Adrianople is difficult to assess - certainly the Roman army of the East had been destroyed and the emperor killed. Some estimates say that as many as two thirds of the Roman army were killed, others one third. Several Important Roman commanders fell, as well as 35 tribunes. Contemporaries regarded it as the greatest disaster ever to befall them, others the worst defeat since Cannae against Hannibal in 216 BCE. Ammianus is more balanced (although the end of the Western Roman Empire was only two generations away).

The repercussions of Adrianople have been much debated, especially since it was a defeat for the Eastern Roman army, and yet it was the Western Empire that would fall. The Eastern empire would persist for a 1,000 years more. The very barbarians who visited the disaster of Adrianople upon the empire were now enlisted to help the new emperor, Theodosius I, defend it. Fritigern disappears from history, although his successor, Alaric, would sack Rome itself in 410 CE. Nonetheless, Adrianople marks a watershed moment in the history of the Roman world, and the subsequent fall of the West can be traced from it and the events which led to it.

9 AUGUST 378 CE

How the Goths inflicted a devastating defeat on the Eastern Roman Empire

01 Heading to battle

The Army of the Eastern Roman Emperor, Valens, marches north eight miles (almost 13 kilometres) from Adrianople (Edirne) along the modern Tundzha River, approaching the position of the modern village of Murtaçali. There, a vast wagon laager marks the Gothic position, its infantry drawn up inside.

02 Negotiations or playing for time?

Drawn out negotiations take place between representatives of the two commanders. The Gothic infantry begin to deploy in front of their wagon laager. The Romans, still partially strung out on the advance to Murtaçali, also begin to deploy. Their left wing of cavalry, consisting of approximately 2,500 men, is still on the road when battle commences. The negotiations suggest that the Goths are playing for time, perhaps awaiting a signal that their cavalry are in position.

03 Roman Deployment

Heavy cavalry: Scutarii, Equites Promoti, Sagittarii Horse Archers, more cavalry each of 500 men; six units of Legiones Palatinae, each 800 men strong were present, only two are named: the Lancearii and Mattiarii. Approximately 12 units of Auxilia Palatina are present (each of 400 men), only one is named: the Batavi. Several of these units are foot archer units. Valens is in the centre. Five units of cavalry (500 men each) are still on the road on the Roman left.

04 Gothic Deployment

Fritigern and his 10,000 Gothic infantry. Ammianus tells us later during the battle of hordes pouring forth so additional infantry units must have been concealed within the laager. Gothic fires set as signals or to cause discomfit to the Romans. On the left of the laager, Gothic cavalry assemble (unseen by the Romans) Alatheus and Saphrax as well as a unit of Hunnic and Alan cavalry.

05 A Gothic Trick?

The terrain on the Gothic left conceals the arrival and organisation of the Gothic cavalry. The smoke may also have been intended to mask their arrival. Alternatively, the smoke may have been a signal for the cavalry to charge or their signal that they were in position. They charged all at once, and the usual explanation that they were away foraging and arrived late to the battle will not do.

Battle of Adrianople



06 A Skirmish Escalates
As Richomeres, the Roman commander, prepares to cross to continue negotiations with the Goths, the Scutari and Sagittarii on the Roman right engage with the Goths opposite them. The Gothic cavalry charge the Roman right flank, causing the Scutari and Sagittarii to retreat. The Roman and Gothic infantry engage all along the line.

07 The Romans are Crowded together
The Roman left wing reaches the wagons, but is hard pressed and, unsupported by cavalry, crowded together. In the centre and on the Roman right, the Goths hold firm.

08 The Goths Pour Forth
More Gothic infantry pour forth from the wagon laager ('barbarians pouring forth in huge hordes'), putting the entire Roman line under pressure. They eventually break and flee. Several of the Legiones Palatinae units stand and die where they were positioned. The Auxilia Palatina units (including the Batavii) break and flee, as do Valens' guard unit, the Armigeri defensores seniors (some individuals stayed with the emperor).

09 Valens' Refuge
Valens takes refuge with two units of the Legiones Palatinae, the Lancearii and the Matiarri. Attempts to extricate Valens in the company of other units prove useless, as they have all fled the field.

10 The End is Nigh
General flight and pursuit of the Romans. Nightfall brought an end to pursuit, especially since it was a moonless night. Valens flees with his men on foot and is either killed by an enemy arrow or, wounded, is taken to a two-storey farmhouse, which is burned by pillaging goths.

The 'What If' Newspaper

USA

Interview by Jonathan O'Callaghan

1933

NEWLY ELECTED ROOSEVELT ASSASSINATED

'Cactus Jack' Garner to be sworn in as 32nd President of the United States after President-Elect is murdered

EXCLUSIVE Interview With

**PROFESSOR
IWAN MORGAN**

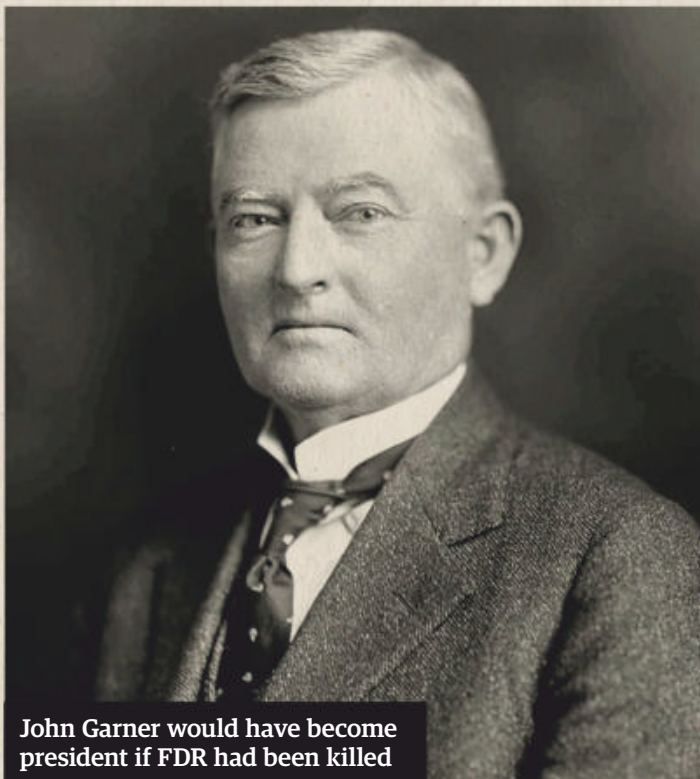
Iwan Morgan is Professor of US Studies at the Institute of the Americas, University College London. He specialises in modern US political history, including FDR's presidency and the New Deal.

What was happening in the run-up to the attempted assassination of Roosevelt in 1933?

The inauguration of Roosevelt took place at a much later date than we were used to in the electoral calendar. He's elected in November 1932, but instead of taking office in the third week of January, he

actually doesn't take office until early March. The period between the defeat of [incumbent president Herbert Hoover] and the inauguration of FDR is usually referred to as the interregnum. The problem is that FDR was elected largely on a negative note. There's a period of uncertainty during which the depression

gets much, much worse. Unemployment begins to rise again. There's a banking panic beginning. And on the eve of Roosevelt's election, it looks as if the whole financial system is going down the drain. The New York Stock Exchange and the Chicago Stock Exchange closed their doors. Banks have closed their



John Garner would have become president if FDR had been killed

IS THE NEW DEAL DEAD?



The landslide election that swept Roosevelt towards the Oval Office was driven in large part of his promised New Deal. But is this package of economic stimulus and job creation to pull America out of depression now in jeopardy with John Garner taking the oath of office? The more fiscally conservative and less labour friendly former speaker of the house didn't appear to be a fan of Roosevelt's plan when the two opposed each other for the Democratic nomination.

America may have entered the war later had FDR been assassinated



Zangara was executed on 20 March 1933



FDR became the 32nd president of the United States in March 1933



The 'What If' Newspaper



President Roosevelt survived an assassination attempt in 1933

doors in all but a handful of states and the United States is facing an economic crisis of a scale never seen before or since. Even taking into account the situation that greeted Barack Obama on his inauguration in 2009.

What happens during the assassination attempt on 15 February?

Well, FDR is on a vacation. [He] wanted to get away from the incessant questioning about what he would do. He goes on this vacation aboard the yacht of a rich friend, and it pulls into Miami. He agrees to give a few words to the public gathered at this very large park in Miami. And unbeknownst to him and everybody of course, there is an Italian anarchist with a gun in his hand waiting for FDR to be driven close to him and to make an easy target. It was very touch and go, because this guy, [Giuseppe] Zangara, fires a total of six shots, two of which missed, because somebody jostles his arm, two of which come quite close to FDR and one of which actually hit the mayor of Chicago, Anton Cermak. If the bullets had hit Roosevelt, he would not have survived even if he hadn't been killed outright. And what happens is a remarkable sense in the country that Roosevelt has been spared for a purpose and he's very adept at playing this up, that he felt that there was a divine providence at work and the country begins a sense that perhaps this man has been saved for the purpose of getting it out of the awful economic crisis.

Did the failed assassination actually help Roosevelt?

I think that it helped him in the sense that people now looked forward to the inauguration. The inauguration address was beamed into far more homes than ever before. And [there was], of course, Roosevelt's inspirational, uplifting rhetoric and the very famous line, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." He doesn't actually say what he's going to do in the inaugural address. But he conveys a sense that he has it planned, that he's going to be dynamic, he's not going to allow the depression to close in on the United States for much longer.

How would you summarise Roosevelt's four-term presidency from 1933 to 1945?

Well first Roosevelt enlarges the Federal government to become the key agency in dealing with societal and economic problems from his presidency onwards. From 1933 onwards, the Federal government becomes a powerful and permanent presence in the lives of American people and Roosevelt's New Deal is responsible for that. The New Deal creates a welfare state. Secondly, he greatly enlarges the office of the presidency. From this point on, the presidency is the focal point for politics and government in the nation. Thirdly, because of what the New Deal did, because of the groups it helped, it creates a new Democratic party. Up until 1932 the party is largely dominated by white



FDR's New Deal pulled America out of the Great Depression

"Roosevelt has been spared for a purpose and he's very adept at playing this up"



The office of presidency may have had less power without FDR

WHAT IF FDR WAS ASSASSINATED IN 1933?

southerners with a small offshoot of urban machines in the northern cities. But thanks to the New Deal, by 1936 the Democrats have a majority coalition and in addition to the white south it now can rely on the support of labour, urban voters, ethnic voters, women, and African Americans. So, that New Deal Coalition of voters, or Roosevelt Coalition as it is sometimes called, keeps the Democrats the majority party in the United States in presidential elections until 1968. The collapse of the New Deal Coalition, really from the late 1960s to the early 1980s is the making of the age of polarization that we have today, where two highly competitive parties are struggling for ascendancy, and becoming more extreme in their efforts to mobilize their bases as the key to electoral power.

What if FDR had been killed and never became president?

The first and most obvious consequence would have been that FDR's vice-presidential nominee, running mate John Nance Garner, would have become president. [FDR] cut a deal with Garner, who is a conservative Texan. Had he become president, Garner would have almost certainly focused on getting the agricultural sector of the economy up and running. This was the primary southern concern and they were willing to use the powers of government to do that. But how much further Garner would have gone is questionable. He would almost certainly have taken action to prop up the banking system that was on the verge of collapse and that would've been the second thing. He would've gone along with the banking policies and the farm recovery policies that FDR eventually pursued under the New Deal. But he would have been very reluctant to do much in support of industrial recovery, legitimisation of trade union rights, and significant expansion of relief provisions for the unemployed, which the New Deal made core to its goals.

Without Roosevelt, would we still have seen a New Deal?

I think, personally, that had Roosevelt been assassinated in Miami on that evening in February, 1933, there would not have been the New Deal that we recognise today. There would have been a limited federal intervention in the economy that would have focused primarily on restoring the continence of the banking system, putting the

agricultural economy to right, and some small amount of federal relief. There would've been nothing on the scale of the intervention of the New Deal.

How divided would America be without the Roosevelt Coalition?

We would have entered a period in which there would have been close competition between the Republicans and the Democrats. The Republicans would probably have reverted back to their anti big government stance. The Democrats would have been a very modest big government party and I don't think there would have been the kind of electoral history that we saw.

Would America still have entered World War II in 1940?

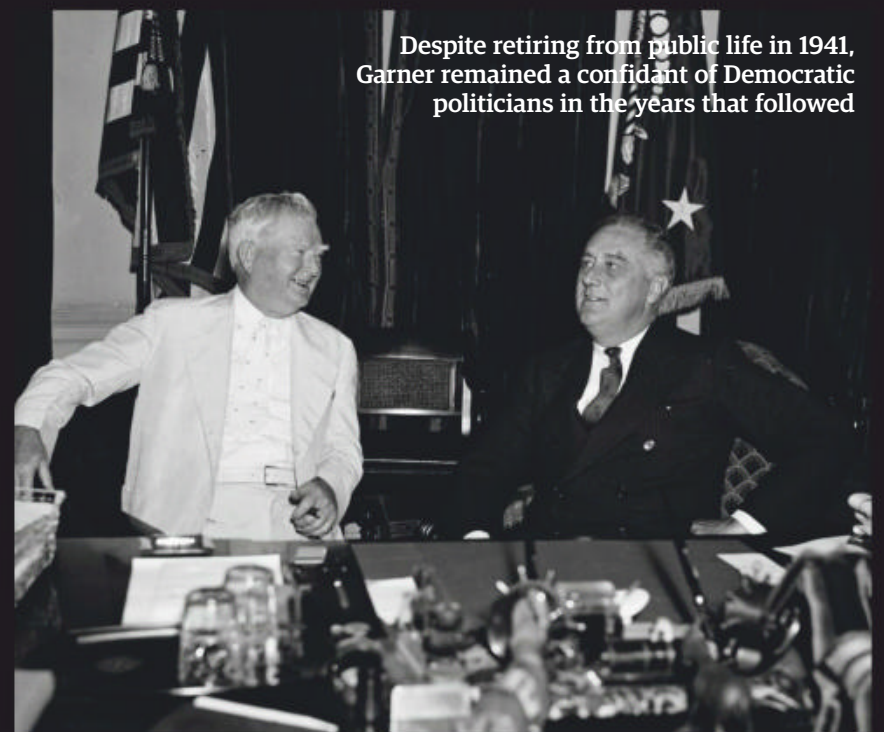
I think without Roosevelt in the white house in the 1930s it would have been difficult for the United States to have moved, however slowly, toward an internationalist stance. In winning re-election in 1940 for an unprecedented third term, Roosevelt now has the legitimacy. He doesn't have to face the electorate again for four years and he begins to move very quickly after that election to give aid to Britain. So I think we'd be talking about the different historical circumstances with regard to what the United States did in the Second World War. Sooner or later, of course, most people believe that the United States would have had to intervene, because it could not tolerate a situation of total German domination of continental Europe, and total Japanese domination of Pacific Asia. Things might have happened later, but the history of the period of 1939 to, say, 1942 would have been significantly different.

What else might have changed?

I don't think the presidency would have become such a strong institution in the way that it did. Up until the 1930s there had only been a handful of strong presidents. Presidents tended to defer to Congress. And what we have under Roosevelt is the president emerging as a truly national leader exploiting the reality that it alone represents the nation and the United States, as opposed to these state and district representation of Congress. As problems become more national, the presidency rises. I'm sure a strong presidency would have eventually come into being, but it comes into being much earlier [with Roosevelt].

WHO WAS JOHN GARNER?

John Nance Garner III was the vice president to Franklin D Roosevelt for his first two terms in office. He had originally been a challenger to Roosevelt for the Democratic nomination in 1932 until he struck a deal to be VP that helped break the deadlock at that year's Democratic National Convention. Garner was originally from Texas and worked as a lawyer before becoming a county judge and working his way up the political ladder. He was only the second person to serve as both speaker of the house and vice president after Schuyler Colfax. In 1940 Garner challenged Roosevelt for the Democratic presidential nomination once again, only to lose again and see FDR head to the Oval Office for a historic third term. Garner was replaced in that election by Henry Wallace, a former Republican.



Despite retiring from public life in 1941, Garner remained a confidant of Democratic politicians in the years that followed

WAS ASSASSINATION A MOB HIT GONE WRONG?



Strange rumours coming out of Chicago suggest and President-Elect Roosevelt was not the target of gunman Giuseppe Zangara. It's suggested that Chicago Mayor Anton Cermak was the primary target as a revenge killing on behalf of feared mob boss Frank Nitti who Cermak has been pursuing for months.



THROUGH HISTORY

Victoria: Woman and Crown

is available to visit at Kensington Palace until 5 January 2020. Go to www.hrp.org.uk/kensington-palace for more info

VICTORIA: BEHIND THE SCENES

Historic Royal Palaces launches a brand new exhibition to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Queen Victoria's birth

With a reign that lasted 63 years, Queen Victoria was the longest-reigning British monarch until she was surpassed by her great-great-granddaughter, Elizabeth II, in 2015. During those six decades she defined what it meant to be a monarch, cultivating a controlled public image amid great political, social, cultural and economic change. However, the new major exhibition

at Kensington Palace, *Victoria: Woman And Crown* re-introduces us to Victoria as a young woman who had to balance her roles as a wife and mother alongside her duties as queen of a vast empire. Rare surviving items from her private wardrobe, including a pair of fashionable silver boots, give us an insight into a different woman to the one who became synonymous with the black satin gowns that she wore for the last four decades of her

life. The exhibition also explores her power and influence after the death of her beloved husband, Prince Albert, and how she shaped the dynastic politics of Europe by marrying her children across the continent, as well as her love for India. Located in the palace's Pigott Gallery, the exhibition is open until 5 January 2020, and is a must-see for anyone who wants to pull back the curtain on one of Britain's most famous monarchs.

MOTHER AND QUEEN

Victoria gave birth to an impressive nine children over 17 years. Along with Albert, she was fascinated with the new technology of photography, and used it to document their family life together, with certain images made available to the public.



MOURNING MONARCH

Victoria married her husband, Prince Albert, in 1840, and she was left devastated following his early death in 1861. After two decades with him by her side, the queen suddenly had to adjust to her life without Albert.



ROYAL UNDERGARMENT

The exhibition boasts Victoria's simple cotton petticoat, a rare piece of clothing that has survived from her early wardrobe. The measurements correspond almost exactly with those from her wedding dress, so it is believed to have been worn at a similar time.





THROUGH HISTORY



GRANDMOTHER OF EUROPE

Victoria arranged for her children to marry into the royal families across Europe, with her descendants currently sitting on the thrones of Spain, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and the UK. However, the queen was also a carrier of haemophilia, which spread through her family and became known as the 'royal disease'.

LONG LIVE THE QUEEN

A Diamond Jubilee was held in 1897 to celebrate Victoria's 60 years on the throne, and she was the first British monarch to reach the milestone. 3 million people lined the streets of London to get a glimpse of the queen during the procession.



EMPRESS OF INDIA

This part of the exhibition explores Victoria's friendship with Maharajah Duleep Singh, the deposed ruler of the Sikh Empire. It also delves into the story behind the famous Koh-i-Noor diamond, and has some examples of her personal diaries inscribed with Urdu on display.



WIDOW OF WINDSOR

Following Albert's death, Victoria plunged into mourning and wore black for the rest of her life, until her own death four decades later in 1901, at the age of 81. She stayed in seclusion for many years after Albert's passing, and was rarely seen by the public - a decision that damaged her reputation.

SCOTTISH SCANDAL

After she was widowed, Victoria enjoyed spending her time at Balmoral, her private estate in Scotland. She struck up an unusual friendship with her household servant, John Brown, which was met with scrutiny and led to her moniker as 'Mrs Brown.'



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On the Menu

POTAGE SAINT-GERMAIN

Did you know?

This popular split pea soup was supposedly named after the Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

Ingredients

- 300g split peas
- 25g chopped chicory
- 20g chopped fresh parsley
- 20g chopped fresh chervil
- 20g chopped fresh sorrel
- 1 tsp of dried savoury
- 1 white onion, chopped
- 3 large carrots, peeled and chopped into chunks
- 2 cloves of garlic, minced
- 3 tbsp butter
- 2 tbsp crème fraîche (optional)
- 1 tbsp olive oil
- 600ml vegetable stock
- Salt and pepper to taste

SOUP FIT FOR A KING FRANCE, 17TH CENTURY

Potage Saint-Germain was a popular split pea soup at the court of Versailles. The nobility – including King Louis XIV himself – was obsessed with peas and Madame de Sévigné famously wrote, “The craze for peas continues; the impatience to eat them, to have eaten them, and the pleasure of eating them are the three subjects our princes have been discussing for the past four days now.”

In fact the king was so passionate about vegetables that he had a garden, the Potager du Roi, built at Versailles to specifically produce them for the court. At the palace several different soups would traditionally be served during the first course of the meal. This recipe is a modern adaption of a version found in a 17th-century French cookbook.

METHOD

- 01** Before you begin, check whether your split peas need to be pre-soaked before cooking. If not, rinse the split peas under some cold water and drain them before placing them in a bowl to the side.
- 02** Heat the olive oil in a frying pan over a medium heat, add the chopped onion and sauté for five minutes until it becomes translucent. Add in the minced garlic and continue to sauté for another minute until it begins to brown. Then remove the pan from the heat.
- 03** Pour the vegetable stock into a large pot and bring to the boil. Add the drained split peas, carrots, butter and a pinch of salt and pepper

to the pot and stir until the butter has melted. Lower the heat to medium and leave the soup to gently simmer for 30 minutes.

- 04** Next, add all the fresh herbs, dried savoury and the cooked onion and garlic to the pot, stir well and allow to simmer for another 30 minutes, stirring occasionally. If the soup is too thick you can add a little more water and if it is too thin, leave to simmer longer.
- 05** The soup is ready once the peas have become very soft. Remove the soup from the heat and serve immediately with a slice of crusty bread. If you want to you can drizzle the crème fraîche on top for decoration.

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

TO BEGIN THE WORLD OVER AGAIN

A vivid examination of the global impact of America's Revolution

Author Matthew Lockwood **Publisher** Yale University Press **Price** £25 **Released** Out now

Though books about the American Revolution are plentiful, in *To Begin The World Over Again*, Dr Matthew Lockwood approaches this well-trodden path from a different perspective. The subtitle of the book is *How The American Revolution Devastated The Globe* and in this

fascinating new release, Lockwood sets out to examine just that. Rather than analyse the impact and sweep of the Revolution in North America, he instead demonstrates how the shots fired at Lexington and Concord in April 1775 had an impact that upended the world order up to that point and created a new paradigm.

Though the American Revolution led to a new way of life in America, its global impact was just as life-changing. Lockwood argues that the Revolution was ultimately catastrophic for some, leading to the British Empire's dominance and the tightening of its oppression.

These are, of course, weighty themes and in less accomplished hands the book might be in danger of collapsing under the sheer scope of its subject.

Lockwood, however, is more than a match for the material.

He constructs an immensely readable narrative that tracks the global impact of the Revolution from America to Australia, Europe, the East and beyond. Though these events are often spoken of in relation to names that have become familiar over generations, Lockwood tells the story through the eyes of the people who are

usually mere footnotes. His examination of the consequences for the indigenous people of the world and other subjects is sensitive, thought-provoking and immensely affecting. All too often epic events such as these seem to sweep the people aside in the telling but Lockwood has made them central to the narrative, conjuring up a world in almost constant flux.

Lockwood is a respected historian and his experience shows in his masterful and deft handling of the archival material that is so central to the tale. He takes what at first appears to be an almost impenetrably complex scenario and unravels it, building an evocative sense

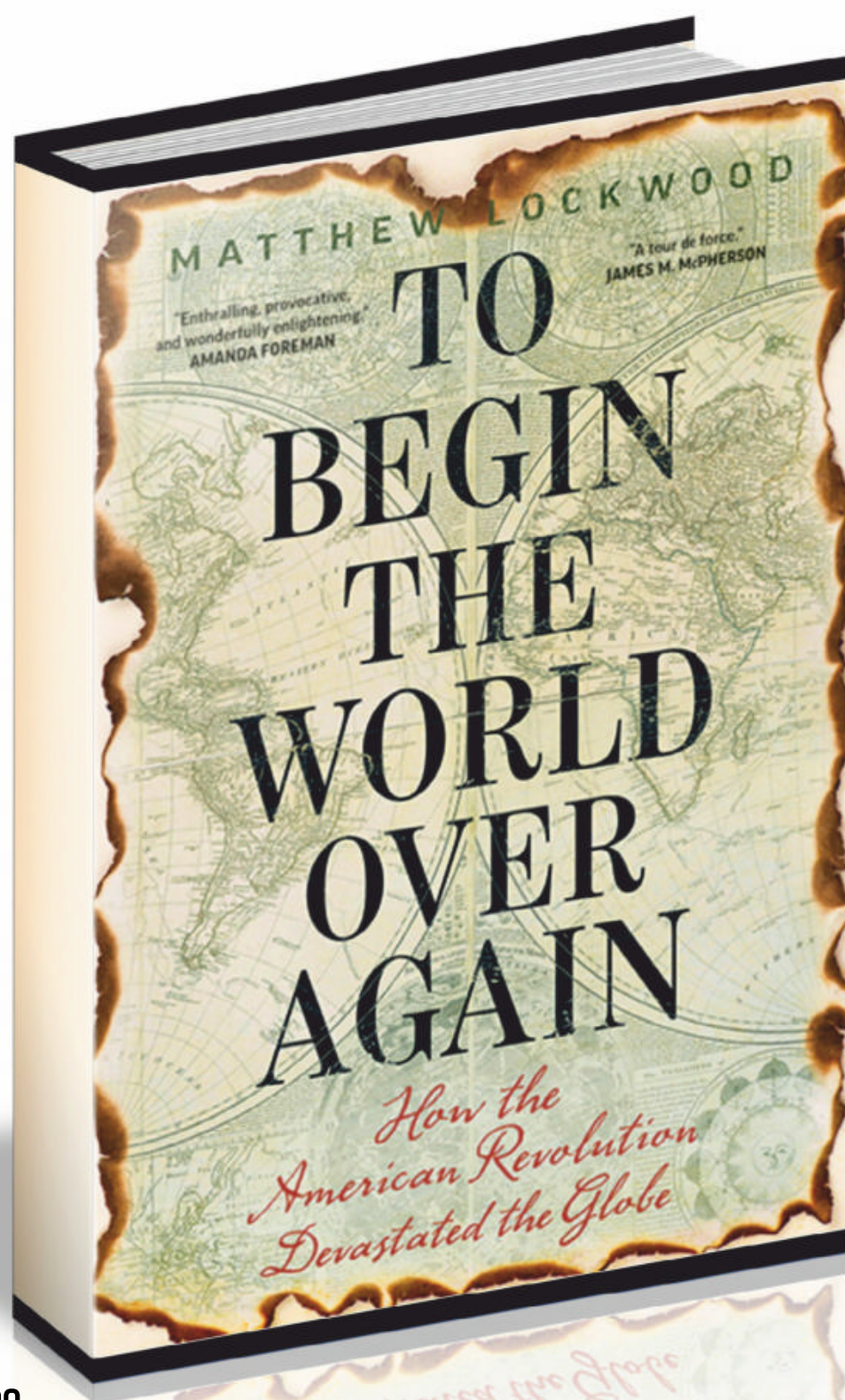
of atmosphere and narrative that brings the post-Revolutionary world vividly back to life. Though this isn't a novel, the sense of time and place wouldn't be out of place in fiction, nor would the sometimes surprising characters and twists and turns of the narrative.

To Begin The World Over Again is not an easy read, and nor should it be. It is, however, a fascinating, involving and ultimately surprisingly accessible one. Though Lockwood's eye for detail is unswerving, the book never becomes bogged down in its complex and sweeping scope.

Instead Lockwood handles the weighty material with sensitivity and understanding.

This is a history of the American Revolution unlike any other. As eventful and atmospheric as a novel, with a vast cast of characters drawn from all echelons of life and all parts of the globe, it is an evocative, exhaustive and ultimately involving analysis of how the Revolution changed the face of the world. For historians and those with an interest in the subject alike, *To Begin The World Over Again* is an indispensable guide.

“Lockwood constructs an immensely readable narrative that tracks the global impact of the Revolution”





Book



TV



Podcast



Film



Games



Other

Reviews by

Jessica Leggett, Jonathan Gordon, Beth Wyatt, Catherine Curzon, Martyn Conterio

JOAN OF ARC



A high-quality reprint of a deserving historical work

Author Helen Castor **Publisher** Folio Society **Price** £39.95 **Released** Out Now

Five years after its release, Helen Castor's re-examination of the life of Joan of Arc has lost none of its potency as it takes you on a deep dive into the life of one of history's most intriguing figures. As Castor herself points out, Joan is a character about whom we seem to know a great deal, but also very little.

So much of her story is based upon the trial at the end of her life that condemned her and the subsequent retrial that acquitted her in death of heresy. Castor brings her narrative style to bear on this primary evidence, picking through the prejudices of the day to try and find the kernels of truth that we can all agree upon.

As Castor points out in her new foreword to this edition, Joan of Arc has come to mean all

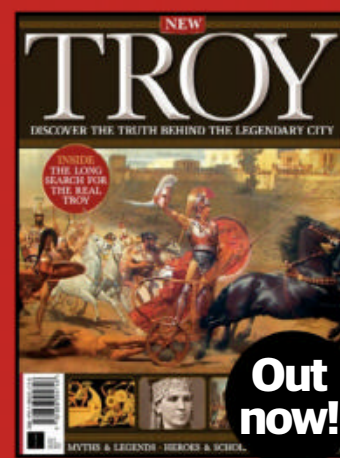
things to all people, but she looks to answer the question of what did Joan mean to herself? What did she really believe in and why was she fighting for it, right to the end of her life? Weaving this with the wider historical context of the power politics of the Dauphin's court, Burgundy and England, we get a 360 degree look at the story, but always with Joan of Arc at the very heart of it.

And as ever, this Folio edition is a wonderfully weighty and satisfying read. Beautifully bound and featuring 16 pages of colour images, it's a fantastic reprint of an already thrilling read.

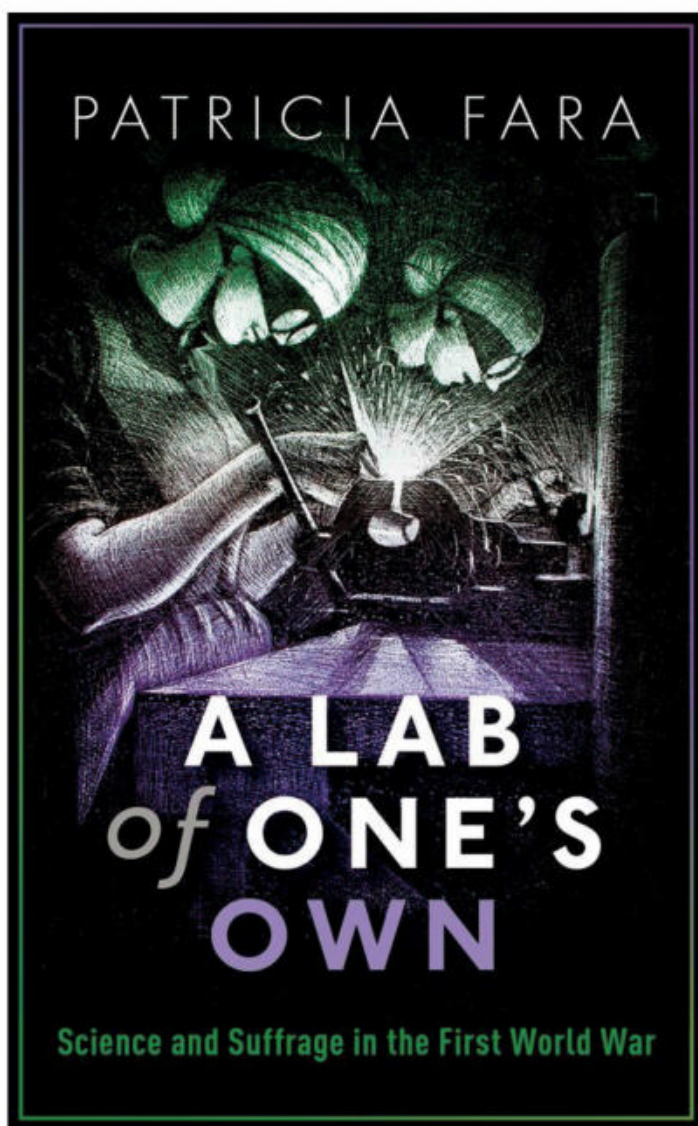
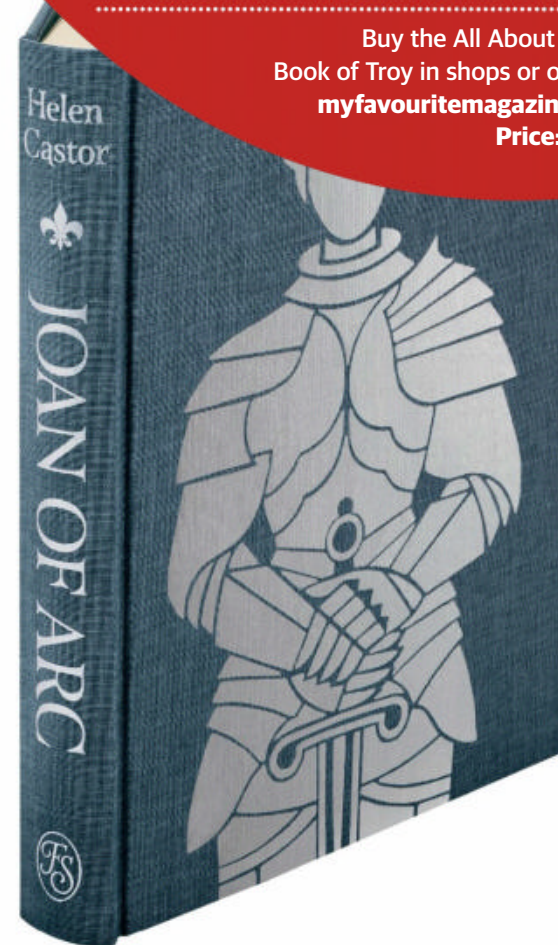


Book of Troy

An ideal introduction to the multifaceted history of this ancient city, the new *Book of Troy* will bring this incredible story to life in amazing ways. Chronicling not only the famous siege and the legendary figures involved, but also the incredible work of archaeologists to uncover its lost history, this new edition covers all of the juicy details. Learn the real stories behind the myths of the Trojan War and explore the way of life in the city and its relationship with Greece. Plus you can discover the story of Heinrich Schliemann who set about finding the real Troy and proved its location in the face of decades of failures by previous historians.

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A LAB OF ONE'S OWN



A remarkable study writing female war scientists back into history

Author Patricia Fara **Publisher** Oxford University Press **Price** £10.99 **Released** Out now

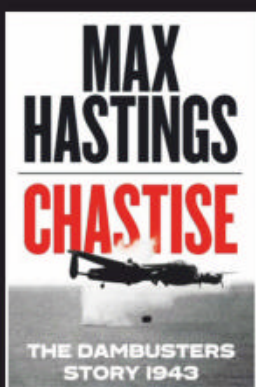
War, women's rights, and modern science meet in this fresh and feminist work by Cambridge scholar Patricia Fara. Newly released in paperback, the cleverly titled *A Lab Of One's Own* - a play on the novelist Virginia Woolf's 1929 celebrated essay *A Room Of One's Own* - weaves an absorbing narrative of British women's important contributions during World War I, but moves it beyond the nurses and munitionettes who dominate popular understandings of women's roles in the country's war effort. Instead, female scientists, doctors and engineers are the main focus of the book, which illustrates both the obstacles these inspiring women faced and the comparative neglect of their achievements in their time and ours.

During World War I female scientists led or participated in a wide variety of research projects. At Imperial College London women worked on

experimental trenches dug in the gardens, where they developed an improved grenade filling, and studied the effects of gasses including mustard gas, with little choice but to test it on themselves. Other areas of research across the country included explosives, aircraft design and anaesthetics. But the significance of this work did not protect women from discrimination and their positions were far from secure, with many of them dismissed post-Armistice to accommodate returning men.

Fara's vibrant prose captures the tumultuous and emotive climate of the war years and is teamed with keen academic observations. Her welcome study is a superb account of trailblazing women, whose efforts to secure equality in the workplace will no doubt resonate with many present-day women.





HISTORY WAR

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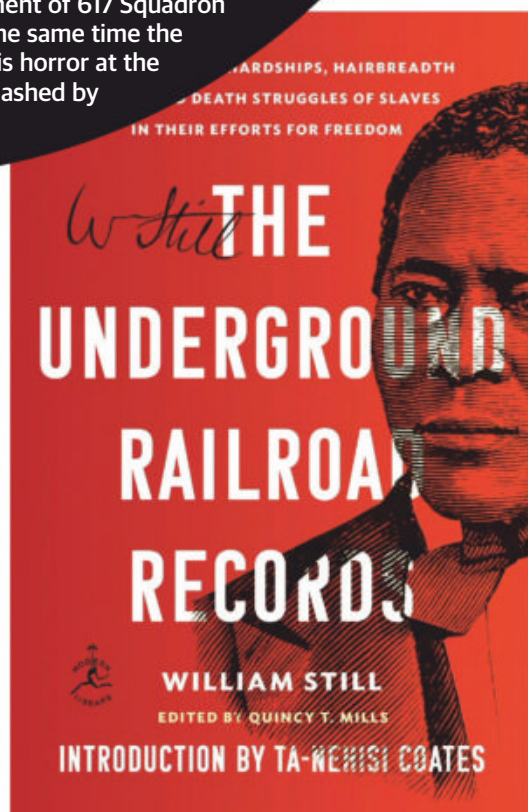
CHASTISE

Author Max Hastings **Price** £25
Publisher HarperCollins

Out now!

Max Hastings has established his reputation as a prolific chronicler of military history. The present volume, which relates the overnight destruction of German dams by the RAF's 617 Squadron brings into focus the human side of the story. Hastings' narrative starts in the cockpit of an Avro Lancaster heavy bomber on its way to Germany on the night of 16 May 1943. Hastings expresses his awe for the achievement of 617 Squadron Leader Guy Gibson. At the same time the author cannot conceal his horror at the Biblical catastrophe unleashed by Operation Chastise.

"Still, whose own mother and father were born into slavery, first published these papers in 1872"



THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD RECORDS



A powerful new edition of an essential collection

Author William Still (edited by Quincy T. Mills)

Publisher Penguin Random House **Price** £14.99 **Released** Out now

The activists of the Underground Railroad are today celebrated for their courageous resistance against slavery, which saw them help hundreds of men, women and children escape to freedom. Their legacies are preserved in an incredible, more than 800 pages long, archive of papers compiled by the abolitionist, writer, historian - and one of the network's conductors - William Still, who collected anecdotes, firsthand accounts and letters from both those who escaped and those who assisted them.

Still, whose own mother and father were born into slavery, first published these papers in 1872 as *The Underground Railroad Records*, and in this new edition, Quincy T. Mills presents a selection of these powerful stories. As Mills comments in his introduction, the scope of Still's archive requires a compact

edition such as this to draw out a sample of the material - approximately two-thirds of it is not included here, but Mills writes that he was driven to include the voices of women and families, which is to be commended.

In Still's own words, a wide variety of experiences are shared, from tales of enslaved people shipping themselves in boxes, to rescue attempts ending in liberation or further tragedy. The reader learns of families caught in the grief of separation, and those who managed to reunite. These accounts all share an individual resonance that magnifies in their collective grouping to form a vitally important document of the lives of enslaved people, and those of the activists who helped many of them into freedom.



A HISTORY OF THE WORLD WITH THE WOMEN PUT BACK IN

An encouraging attempt to readdress the gender imbalance in historical writing



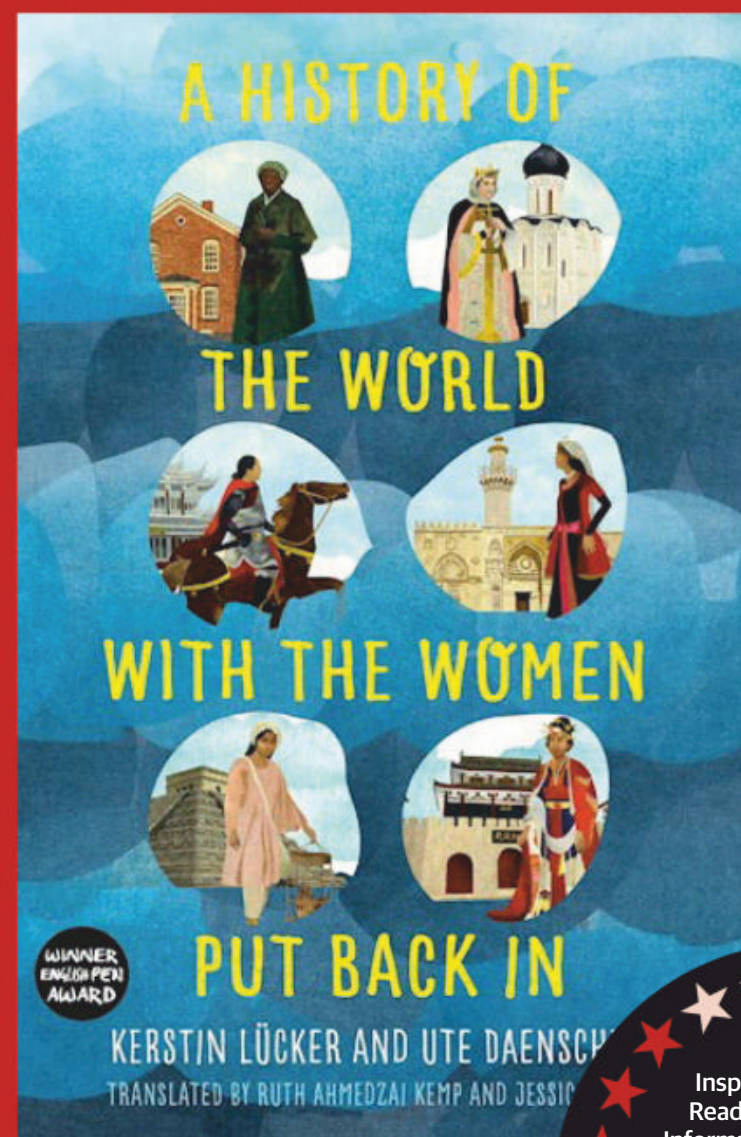
Author Kerstin Lücker & Ute Daenschel, translated by Ruth Ahmedzai Kemp & Jessica West **Publisher** The History Press **Price** £20 **Released** Out now

A *History Of The World With The Women Put Back In* was a bestseller in Germany when it was published in 2017 and has now been translated into English, winning the English Pen award last year. Discussing fascinating women from history alongside the history of sexism on a global scale, the book is an impressive 407 pages long and undeniably serves as a starting point for anyone wishing to expand their historical understanding.

While the book is broadly comprehensive, it is understandably impossible to cover all of the women who deserve to be brought back to their rightful place in history. However, it is quite disappointing that some of the ground-breaking women such as Rosa Parks and Jane Austen don't make the cut, although

a quote from Austen's *Northanger Abbey* is included in the beginning.

What sets *A History Of The World With The Women Put Back In* apart from the various other female-centric biographies that have surfaced in recent years, is the fact that it aims to put women back into history alongside the men, rather than just removing the later altogether. While this aim for equality is great, there are several instances where the book fails to do so. For example, Empress Maria Theresa of Austria is given barely a couple of sentences amid a discussion of her male contemporary, Frederick the Great of Prussia, despite the fact that she was a formidable ruler in her own right. As enjoyable as this book is overall, there are undoubtedly points where a better balance could have been made.





CATHERINE THE GREAT

A less than great take on the Empress of Russia

Certificate 15 **Creator** Nigel Williams **Cast** Helen Mirren, Jason Clarke, Joseph Quinn **Released:** 25 November 2019

Made as part of the ongoing transatlantic partnership between Britain's Sky and America's HBO, *Catherine the Great* is headlined by Oscar-winner, Helen Mirren. As a person of Russian heritage and one of the most acclaimed stars of her generation, it's the kind of role the screen legend was destined to play at some point in her illustrious career. And what a role this is: the 18th century empress transformed her adopted country (she was born in Germany) and spearheaded its expansion into a formidable empire. Her life was full of drama, scandal and tragedy. The four-part mini-series written by Nigel Williams covers the story from the aftermath of a coup she led against her husband, Peter III, to her death in 1796.

Catherine the Great promises to be special, but what it serves up largely disappoints. Williams, a respected novelist and playwright, zeroes in on Catherine's tempestuous relationship with Grigory Potemkin, the military leader who

conquered and plundered lands to prove his worth, however the plotting feels at times rushed and at other points tediously dull. Pacing issues abound throughout and the editing fails to build up an overall compelling enough narrative. Caught between wanting to be a revisionist,

"Catherine the Great promises to be special, but largely disappoints"

feminist portrait of a formidable woman and the grandest love story ever told, *Catherine the Great* succeeds at neither.

Another curious blunder is the pairing of Mirren and Jason Clarke. They have worked together before but their lack of spark and chemistry hinders proceedings. The dialogue, too, is melodramatic and repetitive. Clarke is a respected Australian actor, but his 'go big or go home' approach to Russian masculinity belongs in the theatre, where he can project to the back rows for all his worth. On camera, it looks cartoonish. Potemkin stomps in and out of scenes more like an oversexed, marauding troll than a man of court and military distinction. When he loses an eye in a brawl with Catherine's former

lover, Count Orlov, and sports an eyepatch, the sense of pantomime and parody only grows. An annoying performance obviously intended as larger than life, it operates more akin to a bull in a china shop. Catherine's clashes with Tsarevich Paul (Joseph Quinn) fare much better. Mirren and Quinn do good work portraying a virtually loveless mother-son relationship. Perhaps this is the angle the series really needed, to make it stand out and provide viewers with a fresh look?

A lot of money has undoubtedly been pumped into this production. The costumes are gorgeous, the locations impressive and authentic, the photography artful and visually potent. Cinematographer Stuart Howell lights palace night-time interiors with moody golden candlelight, while daytime scenes are often luxuriously bathed in rich hues mimicking stained glass. The effect is dazzling on the eye and suitably decadent. If only as much attention had been paid to drafting satisfying scripts, for this is where the project fails as a character study and historic saga.



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HISTORY HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen



A LITTLE CHAOS

Director: Alan Rickman **Starring:** Kate Winslet, Matthias Schoenaerts, Alan Rickman **Country:** United Kingdom **Released:** 2015

This period drama makes no claims on accuracy, but is there still a shred of historical truth?



VERDICT A film that wreaks no little havoc with history

© Alamy

01 Sabine de Barra, played by Kate Winslet, is a fictional character hired by André Le Nôtre to build the Bosquet de la Salle-de-Bal in the Gardens of Versailles. In real life, it was designed by Le Nôtre himself and built between 1680 and 1683.

02 In the film, André Le Nôtre - played by Matthias Schoenaerts - begins working on the gardens of Versailles in 1682. But the real Le Nôtre started on the palace gardens in 1661 and he would have been 69 in 1682, far older than the actor chosen to portray him.

03 King Louis XIV, played by Alan Rickman, is shocked following the unexpected death of Queen Maria Theresa. Although he had many affairs during their marriage, the real Louis really was upset after the loss of his wife, who died after a quick and sudden illness.

04 Le Nôtre's wife, Françoise, is portrayed as a villain who is focused on gaining influence at court while being unfaithful to her husband and sabotaging his work. In reality, there is no evidence to suggest that she ever actually behaved like this.

05 Madame de Montespan, the king's mistress, begins to lose his favour to Madame de Maintenon, who is not seen on screen but is implied to be younger. In fact, the real Madame de Maintenon was actually older than Madame de Montespan.



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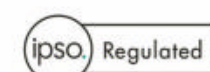
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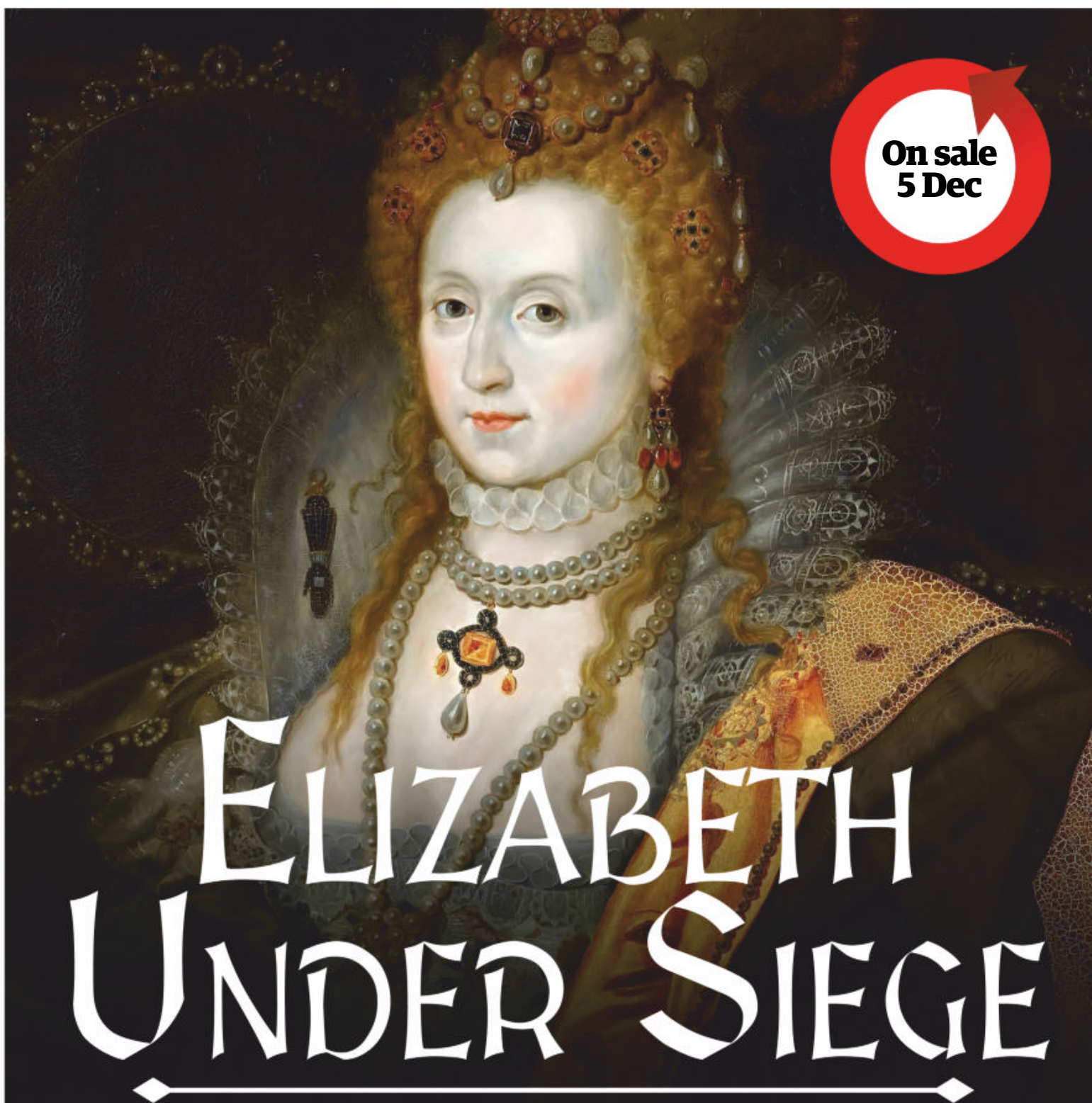
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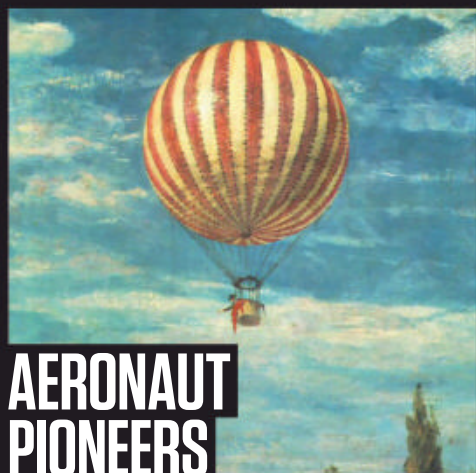
ELIZABETH UNDER SIEGE

HOW DID THE TUDOR QUEEN SURVIVE PLOTS AT HOME AND ABROAD?



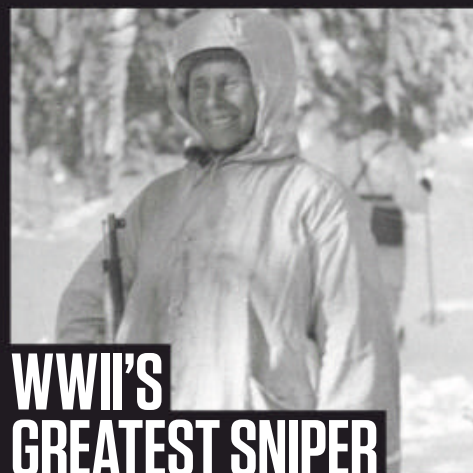
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Dr Alysa Levene talks baking



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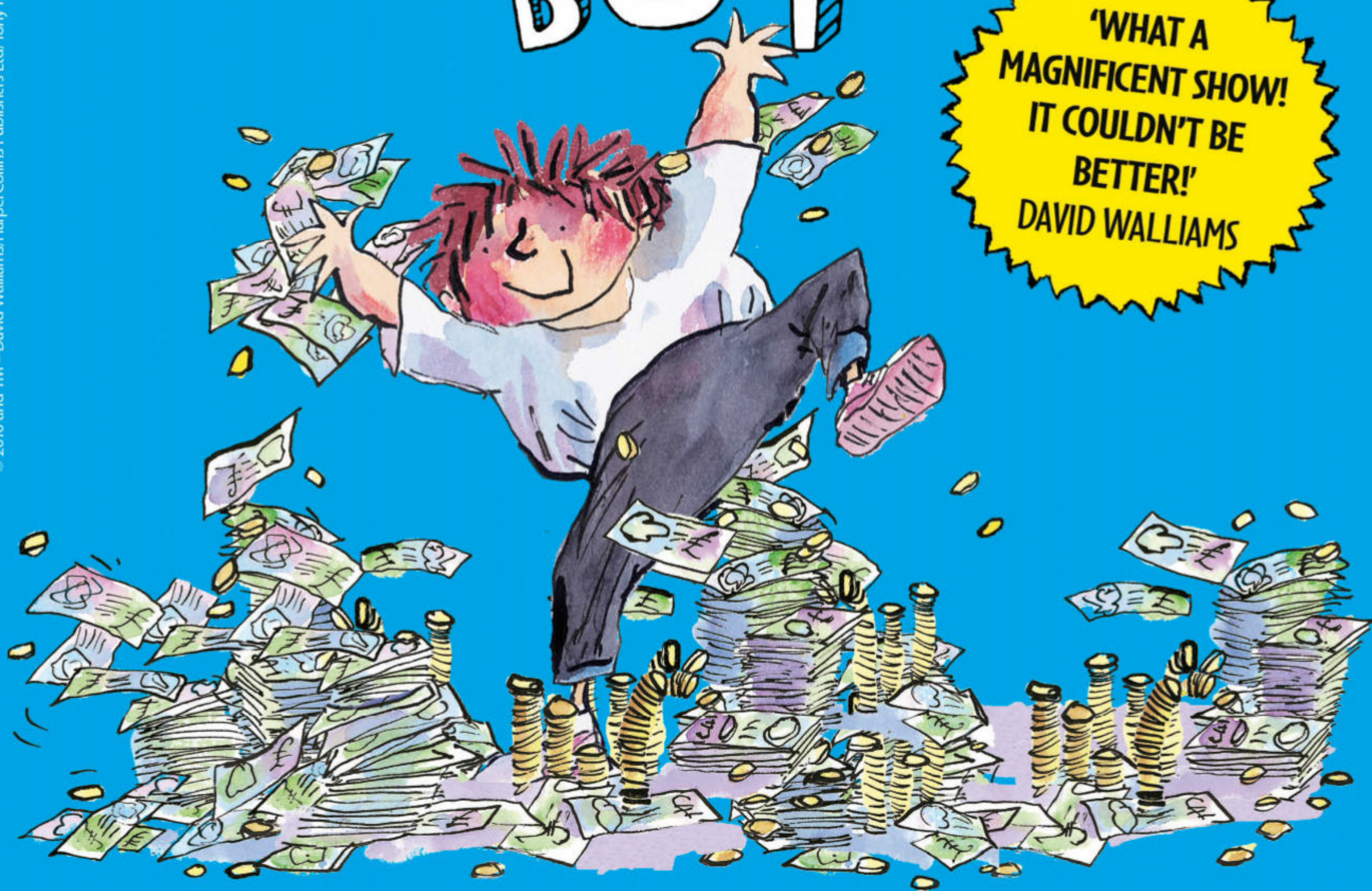
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